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THE HISTORY OF VANDALIA.

CONTAINING THE

ANCIENT AND PRESENT STATE

OF THE

COUNTRY of MECKLENBURG;

Its REVOLUTIONS under

The VANDALS, the VENEDI, and the SAXONS;

WITH THE

SUCCESSION and MEMORABLE ACTIONS

of its SOVEREIGNS.

By THOMAS NUGENT, L. L. D.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed for the AUTHOR;

And sold by J. NOURSE, Bookseller to his Majesty; and P. VAILLANT, in the Strand;
G. HAWKINS, in Fleet-street; W. JOHNSTON, in Ludgate-street;
and J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall.

MDCCLXVI.

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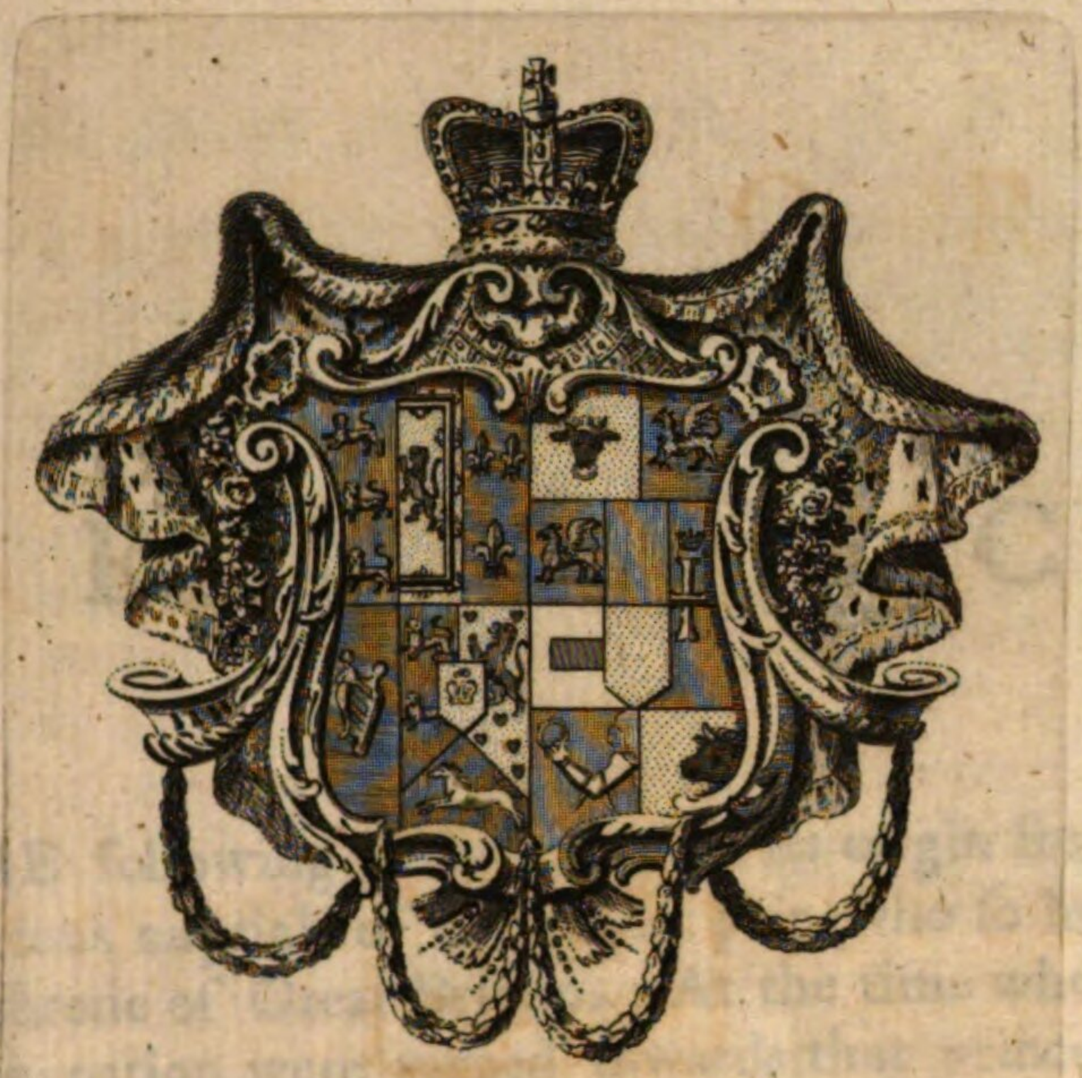


TO THEIR MOST SACRED MAJESTIES,

GEORGE THE THIRD,

AND

SOPHIA CHARLOTTE,

THIS ATTEMPT TO TRACE

THE ANTIQUITY OF HER MAJESTY'S
ILLUSTRIOUS DESCENT,

IN A FAITHFUL HISTORY OF THE
MEMORABLE ACTIONS OF HER
ROYAL ANCESTORS,

IS MOST HUMBLY INSCRIBED,

BY THEIR MAJESTIES'

MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT,

AND MOST DUTIFUL SUBJECT,

Thomas Nugent.

SOBIESKI CHRONICLE

AND

GEORGE THE THIRD'S

THE

PREFACE.

THE following Hiſtory derives its origin from the auſpicious nuptials of the auguſt pair, who ſo happily fill the throne of Great Britain. At the time when the eyes of the whole nation were turned towards that princeſs, who, for her eminent accompliſhments, was found worthy the affection of our moſt gracious ſovereign, the author was ſolicited by ſome of his friends to repreſent the antiquity and ſplendor of her majeſty's deſcent, in a conciſe hiſtory of the moſt ſerene houſe of Mecklenburg. They were pleaſed to think him not unqualified for the undertaking, as he was known to have long employed his time in ſtudying the hiſtory of the ſovereign families of Europe. He was flattered with their requeſt, and entertained ſome hope of being able to execute the deſign in ſuch a manner, as would neither diſgrace her majeſty's auguſt lineage, nor be deemed unworthy of the public curioſity.

HAVING then formed a reſolution to undertake a work of this kind, he imparted his deſign to the Baron de Dewitz, late envoy-extraordinary from their moſt ſerene highneſſes, the duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin, and the duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz. This worthy nobleman, who is known and reſpected in his own country as a patron and encourager of learning, received the author with that affability and politeneſs, by which true nobility is ever diſtinguiſhed. He not only approved of the undertaking, but promiſed all the aſſiſtance in his power; a promiſe which he punctually fulfilled by a large and generous ſupply of valuable materials.

BUT the author, who at firſt intended to write only an hiſtorical abridgment, found the ſubject ſo copious and entertaining, as to render it very difficult for him to confine himſelf within the narrow compaſs of his original plan: for whatever indulgence the public might have ſhewn to a haſty performance, juſt at the time of her majeſty's nuptials; he cannot help thinking that he ſhould merit ſome cenſure, if, with the aſſiſtance of ſo great a maſs of curious matter, he did not attempt to erect ſuch a monument in honour of her majeſty's illuſtrious family, as its importance and dignity deſerve.

AND indeed there is ſcarce a princely line in Germany that has a greater ſtock of national hiſtorians, than the moſt ſerene houſe of Mecklenburg. Some of theſe are remarkable for the beauty and elegance of their ſtyle; others for their exactneſs in inveſtigating the antiquities of their country *. Care has been taken to make a proper uſe of this body of hiſtory, as alſo of profeſſor Gebhardi's Origines Mecklenburgicæ, and of an excellent manuſcript treatiſe on the laws of Mecklenburg, for which the author is indebted to that public-ſpirited nobleman the Count de Bothmar, envoy-extraordinary from the king of Denmark.

THE author, however, has not confined himſelf to the modern hiſtorians of that country, moſt of whom compiled their writings ſince the commencement of the ſixteenth century. He has ventured to aſcend much higher, and to trace the antiquities of Mecklenburg to the fountain head. With this view, he has been at the extraordinary trouble of ſearching into the chronicles of the Franks, the Slavi, and the Saxons †, where the exploits of many of the anceſtors of her preſent majeſty are

* The principal are, Kirchberg, Krantzius, Marſhal, Chemnitz, Latomus, Bacmeiſter, Beehr, Kluver, Weſtphal, Buckholtz, and Franck. See a liſt of the reſt in Appendix IV.

† Wittekind Annal. Sax. Annal. Hildeſh. Chron. Quedlimb. Ditmar. Hepidannus. Annal. Met. Annal. Fuld. Annal. Laureſham. Annal. Bertin. &c.

related

related at large, and an account is given of their long and vigorous ſtruggles againſt the repeated encroachments of their ambitious and oppreſſive neighbours.

In purſuance of the ſame deſign, recourſe has been had to the writings of Adam of Bremen, Helmoldus of Boſow, and Arnoldus of Lubeck. The firſt of theſe, who was a canon of Bremen, wrote a hiſtory of the eccleſiaſtical affairs of the North, towards the cloſe of the eleventh century. The ſecond was a prieſt of Boſow, a village ſituated in the neighbourhood of the lake of Ploen in Wagria: he flouriſhed in the reign of the emperor Frederick Barbaroſſa, and compiled a chronicle of the Slavi or Venedi, from the converſion of the Saxons to the year 1170. The third, who was abbot of St. John at Lubeck, lived in the latter end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century: he continued Helmoldus's chronicle from 1170 to 1209. The writings of theſe three hiſtorians have been peruſed with attention and candor, and the moſt ſtriking paſſages relating to the affairs of the Venedi are incorporated into this work. Particularly, the ſpeeches in the ſecond book are all borrowed from Helmoldus, and have been inſerted as a ſpecimen of the eloquence of thoſe times: from their ſimplicity and conciſeneſs one would not imagine them to be fictitious; at leaſt they have a more genuine air than thoſe elaborate harangues, which embelliſh the works of the Greek and Roman hiſtorians.

The proſecution of this undertaking has frequently obliged the author to turn to the general hiſtory of Germany, which has been an inducement to interweave a ſuccinct relation of the affairs of that empire, with the accounts of the moſt ſerene family. Thus the hiſtory of Vandalia receives an agreeable variety, and is properly connected with the annals of the Germanic body. Yet while the reader's proſpect is enlarged, by widening the landſcape, he is led into no digreſſions that can be reckoned impertinent, or too foreign from the ſubject.

THERE has alſo been a neceſſity of examining into the hiſtories of other ſovereign families in Germany, particularly that of the moſt illuſtrious houſe of Brunſwick. The deſtructive war between his preſent majeſty's heroic anceſtor, Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, and Pribiſlaus II. the laſt of her majeſty's royal anceſtors, was productive of a revolution which makes a conſiderable figure in the Guelphic annals, as it terminated in the ſubverſion of the ancient kingdom of the Venedi. This has been a motive for entering more particularly into the hiſtory of Brunſwick during the reign of that celebrated conqueror, on account of its connection with that of his illuſtrious but unfortunate rival.

THE antiquities of Mecklenburg being greatly intermingled with thoſe of Denmark, Sweden, and Holſtein, the hiſtorians of thoſe northern nations have been therefore conſulted. This reſearch has been attended with conſiderable advantages: among others, it has afforded an opportunity of tracing the original, and admiring the progreſs, of the Hanſe towns, eſpecially of the celebrated cities of Lubeck and Hamburg. It has alſo been the means of adorning the preſent work with a more circumſtantial account of ſome tranſactions between the princes of Mecklenburg and the northern crowns, in which the intereſts of the former were moſt intimately concerned.

THUS the reign of king Albert I. forms a ſhining period in the following hiſtory, when a duke of Mecklenburg wore the crown of Sweden, and his nephew was the lawful heir to that of Denmark. The revolution by which this great family was ſtripped of the Swediſh crown will aſtoniſh the reader, and naturally excite the moſt ſerious reflections; when he comes to behold a powerful and warlike prince dethroned by the intrigues, more than by the arms, of an ambitious woman, the celebrated Margaret Waldemar, who eſtabliſhed the famous convention of Calmar, or the grand union of the northern monarchies.

THE

THE thirty years war is another period in which this ſerene family appears with the greateſt luſtre. The glorious ſtruggle which the dukes of Mecklenburg made in the beginning of the laſt century, in defence of the Proteſtant religion and the Germanic conſtitution, will be ever remembered by the friends of the civil and religious liberties of the empire, and muſt perpetuate the memory of their names to the lateſt poſterity. Hence it has been judged proper to dwell ſome time on ſo memorable an æra; and to give not only a detail of that long and bloody war, but likewiſe of the treaty that determined it, the famous treaty of Weſtphalia, in which the dukes of Mecklenburg had ſo conſiderable a ſhare, and which may be juſtly deemed the baſis of the preſent liberty and conſtitution of Germany.

IN conſequence of ſo laborious a reſearch, the author, who at firſt took pen in hand only to trace the lineage of a princely family, was enabled to enlarge his plan, ſo as to ſtrike out a hiſtory of three powerful and warlike nations; a hiſtory repreſenting the ſucceſſion and memorable actions of their ſovereigns, together with the cuſtoms and manners of the people, their civil and religious inſtitutions, their migrations, their wars, their confederacies, and the different revolutions which in ſuch a number of centuries have greatly altered the face of their country. Hence the work now preſented to the public is entitled the Hiſtory of Vandalia, the name by which that part of Germany was diſtinguiſhed by the writers of the middle ages.

THE following performance may properly be divided into two parts; the ancient and the modern hiſtory of Vandalia. The former, which is comprized in this volume, delivers the accounts of the ſouthern coaſts of the Baltic, from the earlieſt period of the kingdom of the Vandals, to the extinction of the Venedic monarchy. The latter contains the events which happened in that country from the diſſolution of the Venedic kingdom down to the preſent

ſent time, with which the author propoſes to conclude the ſecond volume.

In tracing the antiquities of families and nations, certainty is not always attainable; the reader muſt be ſometimes content with ancient traditions, affording different degrees of probability. Traditionary tales, however, in this enlightened age, are read with great caution, and are often conſidered as the ingenious contrivance of genealogiſts and poets, to ſupply the deficience of records by fabulous embelliſhments. Hence it is that in treating of the Vandals, the author lays no great ſtreſs on any other authority than that of the Greek and Roman hiſtorians, from whom he has moſt carefully collected his intelligence. He acknowledges, indeed, that when there happens to be a chaſm in thoſe ancient authors, he has ſometimes made uſe of the relations of modern writers: but he has carefully diſtinguiſhed thoſe relations, as ſupported by dubious teſtimony; ſo that the reader is never mis-led, but has it always in his power to determine, when hiſtorical certainty is wanting, whether or no he ſhall give his aſſent to probability and conjecture. Truth has been the author's conſtant view; he is free from partiality or prejudice of every kind; and he would think it a diſhonour to debaſe the dignity of hiſtory, by rendering it ſubſervient to the mean purpoſes of adulation.

In relating the affairs of the Venedi, the author treads on firm ground, having the authority of well-atteſted annals to ſupport him: this circumſtance muſt render the hiſtory of that ancient kingdom, now firſt attempted in the Engliſh language, more agreeable to the judicious and inquiſitive reader; and, as it contains the long ſtruggles of a brave but unfortunate people, who periſhed at length in the glorious cauſe of Liberty, it cannot fail in a particular manner to attract the regard of this free and generous nation.

The

THE author on this occaſion thinks it his duty to expreſs his ſincere acknowledgments to the nobility and gentry, who have done him the honour to encourage his undertaking. A liſt of their names will be prefixed to the ſecond volume, which is ready for the preſs, and ſhall be publiſhed with all poſſible expedition. The portraits of their majeſties, which were intended to decorate this volume, have been prevented, by an unforeſeen accident, from being finiſhed at the time appointed. This, however, is not judged a ſufficient reaſon to defer the publication any longer; as care ſhall be taken to inſert them, together with the other portraits, in the ſecond volume, purſuant to the conditions of the propoſals. To the map of the preſent duchy of Mecklenburg, the author has added another, which he had not promiſed the public; namely, that of Vandalia, or Slavia Borealis: this will greatly contribute to illuſtrate the ſecond book of the following hiſtory, and the ſeveral writers of the middle ages who have treated of that part of Germany. The laſt plate in this volume, p. 434, repreſents the ſcene of reconciliation between Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, a celebrated hero of the illuſtrious houſe of Brunſwick, and Pribiſlaus II. one of her majeſty's renowned anceſtors, and the laſt king of the Venedi and Obotrites.

THE

ERRATA.

P. 47, l. ult. for *sovetign* read *sovereigns*; p. 214, l. 3 from the bottom, for *agnevi* read *gravi*.

Princes of Vandalic Blood, though not of the Royal Family.

Anavas, k. of the Vandals. Sich

Aliner, k. of the Vandals lived in the year 111 before Chriſt, perhaps the ſame as Teutoboch. = Ida, of Rugen.

Anthyrius II. k. of the Vand. and pr. of Ruge

Hutter was living in the firſt year of Chri

Wiſilaus I.

Witiſlaus I.

Alaric I.

Dieteric.

Teneric.

Alberic I. was living in 268.

Wiſimar was living in 336.

Miciſlaus I.

N. B. It was impoſſible to aſcertain th
the ancient Vandals, except tha
We have alſo thought it unnece
on conjecture. In the methodiz
Bunau; and on this occaſion we
there are ſeveral who, after Gu

Burgundian Kings of France.

Gundacar, k. of Burgundy, died in 450. = a ſiſter of Ricimer, the Roman general.

ene. Gundemar, murdered by Gundebald. Hilperic, murdered by Gundebald. Godegiſil, murdered by Gundebald, 500.

Conſtantia, 2d wife. A daughter. Gundemar, baniſhed in 534, and d. ſoon after.

daughter, d. to king heodoric, Auſtraſia. Giſtald. Gunnebald, ſlain by the Franks.

Two ſons. Clotilda, mar. to Clovis, king of France. Chrona, a nun.

, Gilimer, k. of the Vandals, taken priſoner in 534. Zatzo. Amatho. Both ſlain in 533.

According to ſome writers, theſe three were the ſons of Gelaric, and nephews to Genzo.

Suevian Kings in Spain.

Hermeric, k. of Suevia, died in 440.

Rechila, died 448.

Rechiar, died 456.

Maldra, died 459.

Frumar, died 464; and his collegue Remiſmund.

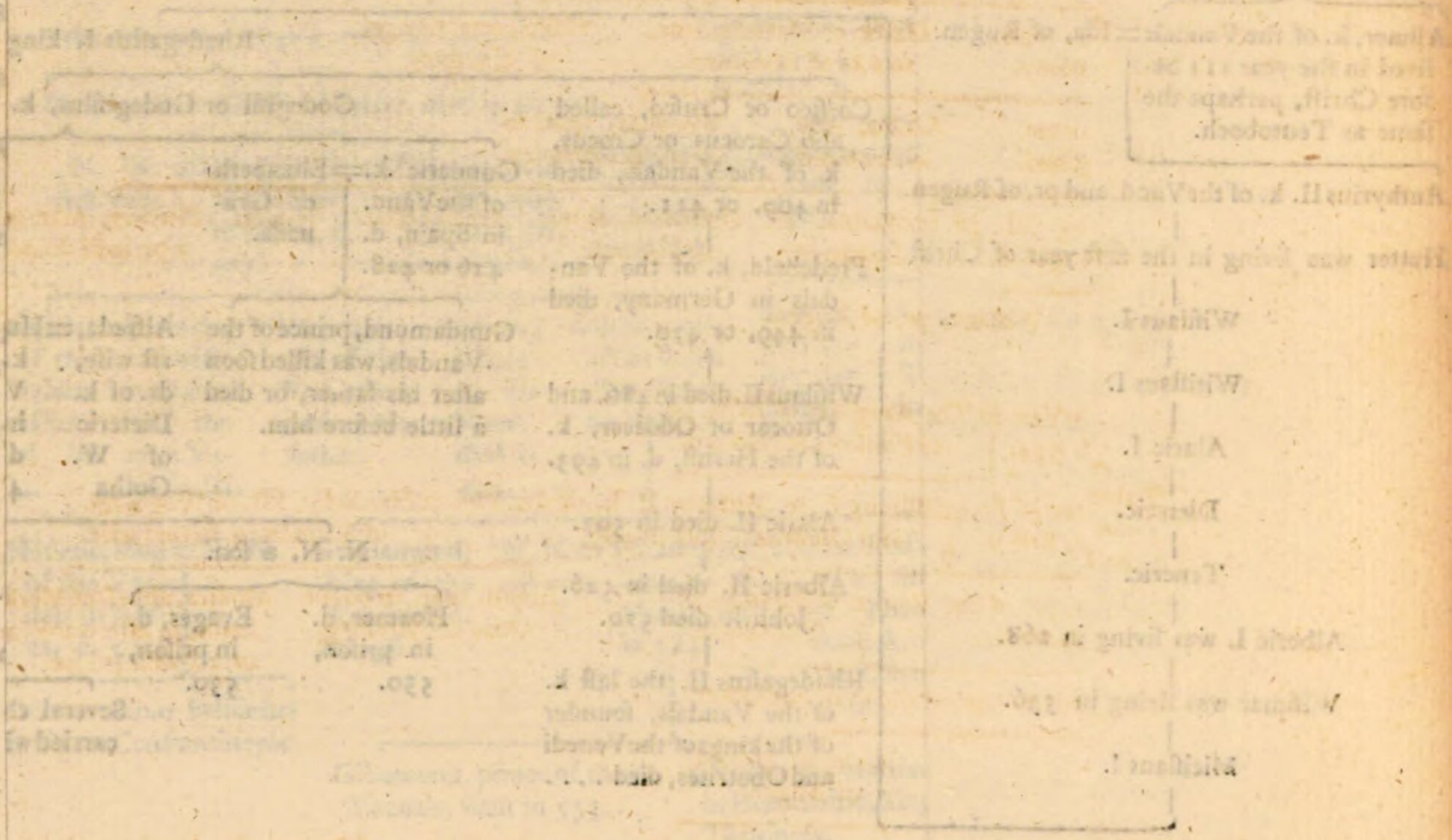
Interregnum, or rather a chaſm in hiſtory.

Dietmar was living in 561.

Miro.

Eborich, or Euric.

Andeca, forced into a monaſtery in 590.



RITES.

N.B. In this table we have inf
wives of the ſeveral princes,
partly in Backmeiſter, and
Genealogia ducum Megapolitan
pretend to vouch for the cer
or to affirm that they are fo
of ancient writers. On the
clined to think that they a
their exiſtence to modern a
may be ſaid of many perſon

Harica, married to a Poliſh prince.

Bergtrada, married to a prince of Friſeland.

N. B. As we could not aſcertain the year of our Lord in which ſeveral of the princes were born, for that reaſon it has been omitted. We have blended the different accounts on this occaſion, to exhibit the whole in one view, and omitted nothing but what we had ſufficient authority to alter.

inceſs

a, mar. axony.

Hilda, or Matilda, mar. to a k. of Gothland.

Odria, mar. to a pr. of Hungary.

, mar. gland.

Adolla, mar. in Scotland.

Wendula, mar. to a pr. in Armorica.

ng III. pr. = Marina, of Lombardy. ... Rugen. d.

Orinatria, mar. in Finland.

Amalſuntha.

Sybilla.

Heilwig, mar. to a pr. in Holland.

Wiſlaus, pr. of Rugen.

heVen. = The daughter of Eric, pr.
l. 934. of Pluſſow, ſecond wife.

Taber
the
in

ea, of Po- = Billung I. or Miſtevoy II. k. of the Ven. = Hardicke, ſiſt. of Wago, bp.
d, firſt w. and Obotrites, died in 989. of Aldenburg, ſecond wife.

n, pr. of the Ven. = Wildrande, of
Obotrites. Thuringia.

Judith, mar. to count Otho of Stolberg.

Modica, abbeſs of Mecklenburg, afterwards m. to a Poliſh prince.

ederich, pr. of the Ven. and Obotr.

Grimm, prince of Rugen.

N. N. = Crito, or Cruco, pr. of Rugen, and = Slavina, of Pomerania, daughter of prince
1ſt w. k. of the Ven. and Ob. d. 1105. Suentibor, and niece of Bogiſlaus, 2d w.

Andrach, k. of the Ven. and = I'
Obotr. d. 1025.

Ratzo, or Race, pr = N. N.
of Rugen, d. 1139.

Niclotus, pr. of the Ven. and Obotr.

Henning, pr. of the Ven. and Obotr. (Theſe two laſt we find only in Kluver.)

Tetzlau, pr. of Rugen.

Jaromar I. pr. of Rugen, d. 1212.

Stoiſlaus, pr. of Rugen.

Witzlau I. pr. of Rugen, d. 1241.

The lords and counts of Putbus.

Buthue, the Ven
Ob. d.

Pribiſlaus I. k. of the Ven. & Ob. d. 1142.

Petruffa of Nor way.

Helen, mar. to John IV. pr. of Mecklenburg.

Jaromar II. pr. of Rugen, d. 1282.

. of and 130.

Witzlau II. pr. of Rugen, d. 1303.

Pribiſlaus II. the laſt k. of the
tes, founder of the princes

or. = Agnes, counteſs of Ruppin and Lindau.

Meriſlave, mar. to Nicholas II. count of Schwerin.

Helen, mar. to Henry the Elder, of Werle.

Niclotus II
5.

and PARCHIM.

way, = Matilda of Poland,
third wife.

laid, of Poland, other-
ife named Catherine.

ne, married to
of Oldenburg.

Burevinus III. = Margaret, of Denmark, 2d wife. | Magdalen, m. to a prince of Marseilles. | Margaret, mar. to Gunzel III. count of Schwerin. | Pribislaus III. lord of Parchim, d. 1262. = Tritzlava, of Pomerania.

f Rostock, d. 77.

Henry II. of Jerusalem, pr. of Mecklenburg, d. 1308. = Anast: of Po rania

Waldemar, pr. of Rostock, d. 1282. = Agnes, of Holstein. | Henry, Eric. Both died without issue.

Pribislaus IV. lord of Wollin, d. 1325. = N.N. by some said to be Tribslave, of Pomerania.

Margaret.

Beatrix, of Brandenburg Anhalt, first wife. = Henry III. surnamed the Lion, pr. of Mecklenb. d. in 1329.

Nicolotus Puer, of Rostock, d. in 1314. = Margaret, of Pomerania. | Burevin, d. young.

Elizabeth, m. to Christian, count of Oldenburg.

Matilda, mar. to Otho, of Brunswick Lunenburg.

Albert I. of Meck
See Tab

N. B. As there mes which were already inser for it frequently happens, tha ve have been exact with rega

TABLE

RLE.

Bernard I. a Dominican friar, d. 1286. | Helena, of ne, the Peace- = Sophia, of Rupgen, first w erle, d. 1289. | pin and Lindau. | Judith, mar. to pr. Albert, of Mecklenburg.

Henry II. Niclotus V. | Rixa, ning II. lord of Werle, | John II. lord of = Matilda, of Po- | Bernard II. Henry III.
Were both, for murdering their father, banished in 1291. | ried to dht his fortune in the wars. | Werle, d. 1337. | merania. | Died monks at Robel.
Albert, Brunsw et, m. to Rodolphus, of Saxe Lawenburg.

John IV. of Goldberg, d. 1348. = Richardis, of Lunenburg. | Sophia, mar. to duke Barnim IV. of Pomerania. | N.N. a nun of Dobbertin. | Agnes, of = Niclotus VIII. the Stammerer, of Wredenhagen, died in 1360. = Agnes, dr. of Henry the Lion, prince of Mecklenb. 2d wife.
Holstein, first wife.

Henning IV. of Stavenhagen, d. 1362. | John VII. of berg, d. 1 | gnes, of Goldberg, r. of Niclotus IX.

John VI. of Wredenhagen, d. 1377. = Euphemia, daught. of John I. d. Stargard. | Laurentius, of Gustrow, d. 1395. = Matilda, of Goldberg, dr. of Niclotus IX. | Catherine, m. to Albert, duke of Saxe Lawenburg.

- = N. N. countess of Ruppin.

l. young father. | Judith.

a, of Pome- a, second w. | John XI. of Gus- trow, d. 1414. = Catherine, of SaxeLawenb. | Niclotus XI. d. young. | Euphemia, d. young. | Agnes, a nun at Malchin.

N. B. As Niclotus, the fours soon laid aside by the other lined the IId. of that name. It is casion no mistake, for they were

D.

=Margaret, of Pomerania.

Albert, biſhop of Derpt, in Livonia.

Conſtantia, abbeſs of Ribnitz, d. 1376.

Agnes, mar. to Otho, duke of Pomerania.

Euphemia, m. to pr. John VI. of Werle Wredenhagen.

of Meck- =Margaret, of Brunſwick, ſecond wife.
rgard, d.

Anne, abbeſs of Wantzke.

=Catherine, daughter of William, prince of Wenden.

Margaret, m. to Eric, duke of Pomerania.

Magdalen, mar. firſt to Wratiſlaus, duke of Pomerania; ſecondly to Burchard, count of Barby; d. 1533.

to Elizabeth, abbeſs of Rhene.
of
9.

ctinction of the Line of GUSTROW.

Adelaid, of Holstein, 2d wife.

Richardis of Schwe III. rin, firhng, wife. his

Eric I. duke of Mecklenburg, died in 1397. = Sophia, of Pomerania. | Richa m. to marg of Go

r. of Werle. er the dr. of by mistake of Henry V.

Albert IV. duke of Mecklenb. d. 1387. = Elizabeth, or Agnes, of Holstein.

Ingelburga, abbess of Ribnitz.

N. B. As duke Albert, the founder of this line, was not only the first reigning prince, but likewise the first duke of this name of the serene house of Mecklenburg, we have therefore given him the title of First, though there was another Albert before him; but the Henrys and Johns are according to the order marked in Tab. III.

Albert VI. duke of Mecklenburg, b. 1438, d. 1483. = Catharine, of Ruppin.

atherne, b. 1444, died young.

Anne, b. in 1447, d. 1464.

Elizabeth, abbess of Ribnitz, born 1449, d. 1496.

Catherine, m. t ry, duke of S b. 1478, d. 15

h. to William, landgrave e, and to Otho, count ns; b. 1485, d. 1525.

Albert VII. the Fair, duke of Mecklenb. Gustrow, born 1486, d. 1547. = Anne, of Brandenburg.

Sophia, m. to Eric, of Brunswick, b. 1507, d. 1541.

Magnus IV lenburg, rin, b. 15

John Albert I. duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin, born 1525, died 1576. = Anna S of Bra burg P

Dorothea, of Denmark, first wife. = Christopher, bp. of Ratzeburg, b. 1537, d. 1592. = Elizabeth, of Sweden, 2d w.

Sophia, died young.

John X. died young.

Charles I. bp. of Ratzeburg and duke of Gustrow, b. 1540, d. 1610.

Albert VIII. duke of Mecklenburg, born 1556, d. 1561.

John XI. duke of Mecklenb. Schwerin, b. 1558, d. 1592. = S

Margaret Elizabeth, m. to John Albert II. duke of Mecklenburg Gustrow, b. 1584, d. 1616.

Adolph Frederick I. duke of Meckl burg Schwerin, founder of the pre serene house of Mecklenburg, b. 15 See Table VII.

John Christopher, b. 1611, died 1612.

So tilla, Brp. b

Louisa, b. 1635, d. 1648.

John XII. b. 1655, d. 1660.

Eleonora, b. 1657, d. 1672.

Maria rick born

onora, m. to duke of Saxe 666, d. 737.

Louisa, mar. to Frederick IV. k. of Denmark, b. 1667, d. 1721.

Elizabeth, m. to Henry, duke of Saxe Merseburg, b. 1668, d. 1738.

Augusta, princess of Dargun, b. 1674.

R G.

of Julius Erneſt,
ſecond wife.

Chriſtian Lewis I. duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin, born Dec. 1, 1623, died June 11, 169: mar. 1ſt Chriſtina Margare dr. of John Albert, duke Guſtrow; 2dly, Iſabella Angelica, of Montmorency Boutville.

Frederick I. duke of Mecklenburg Grabow, b. Feb. 13, 1638, d. Apr. 23, 1688. = Chriſtina mina, dr liam Cl landgr. Bingenh

Frederick William, duke of Mecklenb. Schwerin, b. Mar. 28, 1675, d. July 24, 1713, mar. Sophia Charlotte, dr. of Charles, landgr. of Heſſe Caſſel, d. 1749.

Sophia H wig, dria, Hen Cn mir, prl Naſſau H. etz, 1ſto.

Æmilia Antonia, hriſtian William, hwartzburg Son-n, b. Ap. 11, 1681, , 1751. 3d wife,

Juliana Sibylla, born Feb. 6, 1636, d. Oct. 2, 1701, in Ruhne abbey.

Chriſtina, born Aug. 8, 1639, died June 30, 1693, abbeſs of Gandersheim.

Maria Elizabeth, b. Mar. 24, 1646, d. Apr. 24, 1713, abbeſs of Gandersheim.

Anna Sophia, born Nov. 24, 1647, d. . . . mar. Julius Sigiſmund, duke of Wurtenb. Oels.

Eleonora Wilhelmina, b. and d. 1691.

Guſtava Carolina, b. July 12, 1694, died in 1748, m. Chriſtian Lewis II. of Mecklen. Schw.

Sophia Chriſtiana, or Carolina, b. Oct. 1, 1706, died 1708.

Charles Lewis Frederick I. duke of Mecklen. Mirow, b. Feb. 23, 1708, m. Feb. 5, 1734, d. June 5, 1752. = Albertina Elizabeth, dr. of Erneſt Frederick. d. of Saxe Hildburghauſen, b. Aug. 3, 1713. died ... 1761.

Erneſt Gottlob Albert, born Auguſt 27, 1742.

SOPHIA CHARLOTTE, queen of Great Britain, born May 19, 1744, married to his preſent majeſty k. GEORGE III. September 8, 1761.

Gottlob, born Oct. 27, died October 28, 1745.

George Auguſtus, born Auguſt 16, 1748.

TABLE VII

The Dutchy of Mecklenburgh contains the following Districts marked in Capitals ---

ME. The antient or proper Dutchy of Mecklenburgh ..

WE. The Principality of Wenden ..

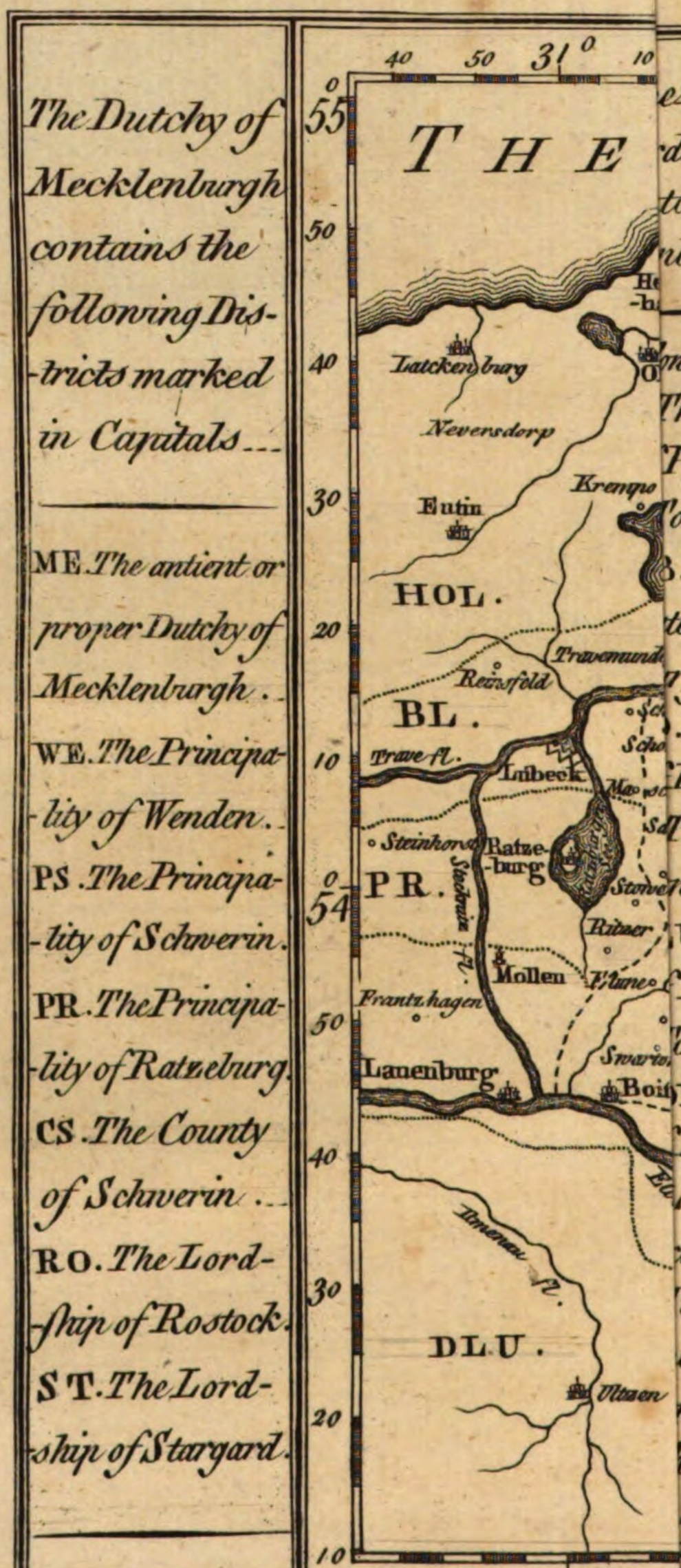
PS. The Principality of Schwerin.

PR. The Principality of Ratzeburg.

CS. The County of Schwerin ...

RO. The Lordship of Rostock.

ST. The Lordship of Stargard.



...eTerritories ...dering on the ...tchy of Meck- ...nburg .....

...owards the East. ...The Dukedom ...Pomerania . ...owards the South ...The Marqui- ...te of Branden- ...rg ....The County ...Danneberg ... ...The Dutchy of ...venburg ....U. The Dutchy ...Lunenburg ... ...owards the West ...L. The Dutchy ...Holstein ... ...The Bishop- ...ck of Lubeck. ...owards the Nort ...e Isle of Fem- ...n ....he Baltic ... ...The Isle of ...ugen .....

THE

INTRODUCTION,

CONTAINING

THE PRESENT STATE

OF THE

DUCHY OF MECKLENBURG.

Situation. THE duchy of Mecklenburg is a large province of Germany, in the circle of Lower Saxony, ſituated between fifty-three degrees ten minutes and fifty-four degrees forty minutes north latitude; and between thirty-one degrees and thirty-four degrees thirty-five minutes, weſt longitude, from the iſland of Ferro. Its greateſt extent in length, from the further end of the principality of Stargard to Boitzenburg, is about an hundred and thirty-five geographical miles; and in breadth, from Furſtenberg to Arcaſhoff on the Baltick ſhore near the frontiers of Pomerania, about ninety. It is bounded by the Baltick Sea on the north, by Pomerania on the eaſt, by the marquiſate of Brandenburg on the ſouth, by the biſhopric of Lubeck and the territories of Brunſwick and Lunenburg on the weſt.

Extent.

Boundaries.

Rivers. THIS country is extremely well watered, having many fine rivers, and ſeveral lakes from four to twelve miles in length. The principal rivers are the Elbe, the Stoer, the Elde, the Warnow, the Reckenitz, the Peene, the Mildenitz, the Nebel, and the Havel. The Elbe waſhes the borders of the province

Elbe.

to the ſouth-weſt, and paſſes by the towns of Domitz and Boitzenburg. The Elde iſſues out of the Plauer Lake, and above Parchim divides into two branches, one of which retains the original name; the other is called the Lockenitz. On the borders of the county of Schwerin, the branch retaining the original name receives the Stoer, which is the outlet of Schwerin Lake. A little below Eldena, the Elde divides itſelf again into two ſtreams; which forming ſmaller currents, all diſcharge themſelves into the Elbe in the neighbourhood of Domitz. The other branch, called Lockenitz, enters the marquiſate of Brandenburg, where it likewiſe, after a courſe of about five miles, falls into the Elbe almoſt oppoſite to Schokenburgh. The Warnow takes its riſe in the centre of the country, between the principalities of Schwerin and Wenden, not far from the village of Hertzberg, and continuing its courſe towards Sternberg, receives the Mildenitz and Nebel; after which it ſpreads into a lake and harbour at Roſtock, and empties itſelf into the Baltick in the neighbourhood of Warnemunde *. The Reckenitz riſes in the principality of Wenden, at the village of Reckenitz, four miles from Guſtrow, and paſſing by Sulte, forms part of the limits between Mecklenburg and Pomerania. Near Damgarten it runs into a lake, and diſembogues itſelf at length not far from Daſſerort into the Baltick. The Peene has likewiſe its ſource in the principality of Wenden near Grubenhagen, and running through the lakes of Malchin and Cummerow, it paſſes into Pomerania, where it falls into the Baltic near Penemunde below the town of Wolgaſt. The Mildenitz riſes near the convent of Dobbertin, and runs through the lake of Sternberg into the Warnow. The Nebel takes its riſe in the neighbourhood of Plawe, and paſſing by Butzow, empties itſelf alſo into the Warnow. The Havel has its ſource in the lordſhip of Stargard, and continuing its courſe through ſeveral lakes, runs by Furſtenberg into the marquiſate of Brandenburg, where it diſcharges itſelf into the Elbe a little below Havelburg.

Elde.

Warnow.

Reckenitz.

Peene.

Mildenitz.

Havel.

* Warnemunde ſignifies the mouth of the Warnow, as Penemunde does the mouth of the Peene.

THE

Lakes.

THE principal lakes are thoſe of Muritz, Calpin, Plauer, Schwerin, Krakow, Malchin, Sternberg, Cummerow, and Tollenſee. In all theſe and the ſmaller lakes there is ſo great a plenty of fiſh, as to ſupply not only the inhabitants of this, but of the neighbouring provinces.

Soil and produce.

THE ſoil of the duchy of Mecklenburg, in general, is extremely fertile, yielding plenty of corn, flax, hemp, and all ſorts of fruit. The country is diverſified with delightful eminences, and pleaſant woods, in which there is fine timber, and game in abundance. The meadows are very rich, affording good paſture for cattle, of which they have not only a ſufficient quantity for their own uſe, but likewiſe for exportation. Their numerous flocks of ſheep ſupply them with plenty of wool, and their cows with milk, butter, and cheeſe. They have an excellent breed of horſes, of which the king of Pruſſia greatly availed himſelf in the late war, when he ſeized the duchy of Mecklenburg Schwerin. They have alſo prodigious herds of ſwine, vaſt numbers being ſent every year into Saxony and Thuringia. In many parts the ſoil is ſandy, and there are ſeveral heaths, with ſome moors and fens: but to judge by what has lately been done in this way, the fens will ſoon be drained, and the moors improved into arable and paſture land. The country is too far north to produce vines, and ſcarcely affords any mines or minerals. They have iron ore in the neighbourhood of Neuſtadt, and not far from Eldena ſome allum. The land being generally of a level ſurface, might ſtill be greatly improved, as appears by the relation of baron Luhe, publiſhed in one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty, wherein the nobility are ſaid to have doubled or trebled their rents, without oppreſſing the peaſant: eſtates, which at the beginning of this century coſt only twelve or twenty thouſand rix-dollars, are now worth ſixty or eighty thouſand *.

* Kluver, Buſching, Buckholtz, Beehr.

Trade and manufactures.

FROM the ſituation of this country along the Baltic ſhore, and from the fertility of the ſoil, one might naturally imagine it to be bleſſed with a flouriſhing commerce. This indeed would be the caſe, had the inhabitants been as diligent as their neighbours of Hamburg and Lubeck, in making a proper uſe of the materials of trade, by applying themſelves to the arts and manufactures. But their induſtry has been damped by the late deſtructive war, and by other cauſes, which their princes will now, it is to be hoped, endeavour to remove. The public tranquillity being reſtored, thoſe commercial ſchemes, which have been obſtructed by the general diſturbances of Germany, may be ſafely carried into execution. Such was the project for digging a canal from the town of Wiſmar to the lake of Schwerin, and making the Stoer and Elde navigable, ſo as to eſtabliſh a communication by water between the North Sea and the Baltick, without paſſing through the Sound. New harbours might alſo be opened on the Baltick; for there are only two at preſent, Roſtock and Wiſmar, the laſt of which is in the poſſeſſion of Sweden. It would be no difficult matter, for inſtance, to make another at New Buckow, and a third at Ribnitz; the advantages of which would greatly overbalance the expence *.

Inhabitants.

THE inhabitants are chiefly of Saxon extraction †, and ſpeak the German language according to the dialect of Lower Saxony. This they call Plat Deutch, or Lower Saxon; which is neither Dutch nor High German, but in ſome degree partakes of both: for upon comparing it with Junius's Anglo-Saxon goſpels, and other Anglo-Saxon books, it appears to retain more of that antient tongue than either the Dutch or High German. The people are divided into peaſants, burghers, clergy, and nobility. The peaſants are in a ſtate of vaſſalage, as in moſt

* Buſching.

† In the principality of Wenden, and the antient duchy of Mecklenburg, there are ſtill ſome few of the Venedi or Wendi remaining; and moſt of the peaſants muſt be deſcended from that nation, although they have long ſince loſt their antient language.

other

other parts of Germany. The burghers are repreſented by the magiſtrates of the reſpective towns, and depend immediately on the ſovereign: they are poſſeſſed of certain privileges, by means of which they are united with the nobility. The clergy have alſo their particular immunities, but no right to ſit in the diet of the province. This aſſembly conſiſts only of the nobility and commons, the former of which have likewiſe their excluſive privileges *.

Virtues and vices.

THE cuſtoms and manners of the inhabitants, as alſo their virtues and vices, are much the ſame as thoſe of the other natives of Germany. They are patient of labour, docile, ſincere, witty, and ingenious; but withal, like moſt northern nations, great lovers of jollity and good cheer. Their virtues, however, far over-ballance theſe failings. The peaſants are excellent huſbandmen, and make very good ſoldiers. Among the burghers there are ſeveral who raiſe conſiderable fortunes by trade, and even ſome who are conſpicuous in the polite arts. The nobility are a very reſpectable body, having produced great numbers of brave officers and able ſtateſmen †.

Religion.

THE inhabitants are almoſt all Proteſtants of the confeſſion of Augſburg, which was early received throughout this duchy ‡. The clergy have ſix ſuperintendants, namely, thoſe of Schwerin, Guſtrow, Parchim, Strelitz or Brandenburg, and two for Roſtock (one of whom has the care of the duchy of Mecklenburg, and the other that of the lordſhip of Roſtock) beſides ſeveral provoſts, elders, paſtors, and ſchoolmaſters. The conſiſtory, a ſpiritual court held at Roſtock, is formed by the twelve miniſters of the town, in conjunction with the ſuperintendant: but appeals lie from this tribunal to the two ſupreme courts of juſtice. Before the reformation the prelates were allowed to ſit in the ſtates of the province; but by the ſuppreſſion of epiſco-

* Buckholtz, Beehr, Weſtphal.
† Kluver, Beehr.
‡ See the account of the reformation in the following hiſtory.

pacy,

pacy, the clergy are debarred of that antient privilege. The Roman Catholics have a chapel at Schwerin, and the Calviniſts another at Butzow, the only places in this country where the public exerciſe of any other than the Lutheran religion is permitted. The Mecklenburghers indeed are very zealous in their belief, and ever ſince the reformation have been remarkably watchful in preventing any innovation in the eſtabliſhed worſhip *.

Sovereigns.

THE duchy of Mecklenburg is governed by two princes of the ſame illuſtrious family, to which that country has been ſubject from the very remoteſt antiquity. Theſe princes form two different lines; the eldeſt called Mecklenburg Schwerin, the youngeſt Mecklenburg Strelitz. The line of Mecklenburg Guſtrow having failed in one thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-five, duke Frederic William of the Schwerin branch pretended to the ſole inheritance of the duchy of Guſtrow. Upon this a conteſt aroſe between him and his father's youngeſt brother, Adolphus Frederic the ſecond, of Mecklenburg Strelitz; which conteſt was at length adjuſted at Hamburg in one thouſand ſeven hundred and one. By virtue of this agreement between the two princes, Frederic William was to have the duchy of Mecklenburg Proper, the principality of Schwerin, the principality of Wenden, the county of Schwerin, and the lordſhip of Roſtock. On the other hand, duke Adolphus Frederic the ſecond had to his ſhare the principality of Ratzeburg, the lordſhip of Stargard, the antient commanderies of Mirow and Nemerow, and a yearly revenue of nine thouſand dollars out of the toll of Boitzenburg, beſides eight thouſand dollars as an aid towards the building of a new palace.

Lines of Schwerin and Strelitz.

THE line of Mecklenburg Schwerin began in duke Adolphus Frederic the firſt, who was born in one thouſand five hundred and eighty-eight, and died in one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-eight. His great-grandſon, the preſent duke Frederic the ſecond of Mecklenburg Schwerin, took poſſeſſion of that government upon

* Kluver, Buckholtz.

the

the death of his father Chriſtian Lewis the ſecond in one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-ſix. The line of Mecklenburg Strelitz began in the above-mentioned duke Adolphus Frederic the ſecond, whoſe grandſon, duke Adolphus Frederic the fourth, ſucceeded to that ſovereignty in one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-two * †.

Government of the Germanic body.

THE conſtitution of this province being ſomewhat analagous to that of the whole empire, it will not be improper to exhibit a ſummary view of the Germanic body. This government is a limited monarchy, of which the emperor is the head, and the ſtates of the empire are the members. The ſtates are divided into three claſſes, namely, the college of electors, the college of princes, and laſtly, that of the imperial cities. The electors are nine; three ſpiritual, the archbiſhops of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne; and ſix temporal, the king of Bohemia, the dukes of Bavaria and Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, the count Palatine of the Rhine, and the duke of Hanover. The empire of Germany was founded in the year eight hundred by Charlemagne, whoſe poſterity down to Lewis the IVth held it by hereditary right; but in proceſs of time, and by the weakneſs of his ſucceſſors, it became elective. The emperor's authority is much confined, and his revenues are very ſmall; yet he is the fountain of honour, creating dukes, princes, marquiſſes, &c. and has the ſole power of convoking the diet. This aſſembly conſiſts of the emperor, the nine electors, the ſpiritual and temporal princes, and the deputies of the imperial cities. Their meeting is held at Ratiſbon, where they enact laws, raiſe taxes, conclude alliances, or determine differences between the members of their own body. Beſides this aſſembly there are two ſupreme courts of judicature, called the Aulic Council and the Chamber of Wetzlar, to which

* Kluver, Beehr, Buſching, Buckholtz.

† See a full account of theſe two ſerene branches in the ſequel of this hiſtory, book the laſt.

there

there lies an appeal from the ſubjects of the States of the empire, when they think themſelves oppreſſed * †.

College of princes.

THE college of princes is very numerous, conſiſting of dukes, margraves, landgraves, burgraves, and counts ‡. Theſe were originally titles of perſonal offices; but now they denote hereditary lordſhips. The princes are all ſovereigns in their reſpective territories, having an abſolute juriſdiction over their ſubjects, except where the diet or the ſupreme courts of judicature think proper to interpoſe. Thus they enact laws, regulate eccleſiaſtical matters (in Proteſtant diſtricts) raiſe taxes, conclude alliances with foreign princes, and with one another, erect fortreſſes, levy troops, and coin money; in ſhort, they exerciſe moſt acts of ſovereignty that are not prejudicial to the empire §.

The great houſes of Germany.

IT is chiefly the confederacy of theſe princes that forms the Germanic body. They are divided into two claſſes, called the antient and the modern houſes; the former, being ſuperior in

* Boecler, Puffendorff, Imhoff.

† Except the electors and a few princes, who having the jus de non appellando, their ſubjects cannot appeal.

‡ The dukes (duces) were governors of provinces, and had alſo the command of the troops in their reſpective duchies: hertzog, the German name for a duke, ſignifies the chief or leader of an army. Subordinate to theſe were the counts, who adminiſtred juſtice in a department called Gau, from whence comes the name of provinces, terminating in gau, as Suntgau, Nortgau, &c. The counts in the German language were ſtiled grau (afterwards changed into graff) which ſignifies grey; becauſe they are ſuppoſed originally to have been aged perſons, who attended the prince in his circuit through the provinces (from whence they took the Latin name of comites) and aſſiſted him with their advice. Though the employment of thoſe counts or graves ſeems to have been purely civil, yet in time of war they had the command of the troops within their diſtrict. Thoſe who commanded on the frontier were called margraves, from the word marche, which ſignifies a frontier; thoſe who had a whole province to govern, were ſtiled landgraves; thoſe who had the adminiſtration of juſtice within the palace took the title of pfaltzgraves, or counts palatine; and ſuch as were only intruſted with the government of a fort or caſtle, had the name of burgraves. Some of them were denominated from the place they governed, as rhine-grave, the count who governed the province of the Rhine, &c.

§ Leibnitz, Roſenfeld, Furſtener, Imhoff.

power

power and dignity to the latter, have a precedency at the diet; but they are all equally intitled to give their votes and ſuffrages at that aſſembly. The antient and great houſes are, firſt, the archdukes of Auſtria; ſecond, the dukes of Lorrain (theſe two are now the ſame family, ſince the extinction of the laſt male branch of the houſe of Auſtria); third, the dukes of Bavaria and counts Palatine, who are both of the ſame houſe; fourth, the dukes of Saxony; fifth, the margraves or marquiſſes of Brandenburg; ſixth, the dukes of Brunſwick and Lunenburg; ſeventh, the dukes of Mecklenburg; eighth, the dukes of Wurtemberg; ninth, the landgraves of Heſſe; tenth, the margraves of Baden; eleventh, the dukes of Holſtein; twelfth, the princes of Anhalt. Among theſe the firſt ſix have the precedency of the reſt, by reaſon of their electoral dignity: in regard to Mecklenburg, Heſſe, Baden, and Wurtemberg, the point of rank is not ſettled; but to prevent diſputes they precede each other in the diet by turns; and the ſame alternate precedency extends to the margrave of Brandenburg, on account of the principality of Pomerania †.

Government of Mecklenburg.

THE government of Mecklenburg ſeems to have been formed nearly on the ſame plan as that above deſcribed. The ſovereignty reſides in the dukes; but their power is ſo far limited, that in the enacting of new laws they are obliged to conſult with the ſtates. The country is divided into three circles; the firſt that of Mecklenburg, the capital of which was Wiſmar; but this city having been ceded to the Swedes by the treaty of Weſtphalia, Parchim, the ſecond town in the principality of Wenden, was appointed to repreſent the commons of the circle of Mecklenburg. The ſecond circle is that of Wenden, the capital Guſtrow; the third is that of Stargard, the capital New Brandenburg. The two firſt belong to the duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin, and the third to the duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz. The whole country contains forty-five great and leſſer towns,

† Goldaſt, Buckholtz, Imhoff.

beſides three convents, and a vaſt number of ſeats and villages belonging to the nobility, on which between fifteen and ſixteen thouſand hufes * or manors depend: for one moiety of theſe the nobility pay, as a contribution to the ſovereign, nine dollars a manor; the other moiety, which the Germans call ritter-hufen, are free and independant. The nobility are a free ſtate, and enjoy very great privileges, in the ſupport of which they have often had warm diſputes with the ſovereign; but theſe were ſettled at length by a fundamental convention at Roſtock in one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-five. The commons are the ſecond ſtate, and are repreſented by the deputies of the towns, under the direction of the reſpective capital. In one thouſand five hundred and twenty-three, the nobility and commons of the three circles entered into a compact of union, which has been confirmed by the prince at different times, and lately by the convention of Roſtock. In virtue of this agreement all the free inhabitants of each circle ſhall enjoy an equality of rights, privileges, and immunities, ſo as to be governed by the ſame laws, ordinances, and compacts, both in the civil and eccleſiaſtic department: and this was not only an union of the circles, but alſo of the ſtates; the nobility and commons agreeing to a participation and community of all their rights and privileges, and to their holding an equal ſhare in the country diets †.

The ſtates.

Compact of union.

Diets.

THE power of ſummoning theſe diets reſides in the ſovereign, who convokes them generally every autumn, in order to ſettle the annual contributions, or to regulate other matters of public concern. The ſummonſes are iſſued out to the ſtates of the three circles, four weeks before they are to meet; and in theſe ſummonſes are mentioned the articles on which they are to deliberate. The meetings are held alternately at Sternberg and Malchin. The officers of ſtate are eight landraths or provincial

State officers.

* A hufe is a land meaſure in Germany equal to thirty acres.

† Kluver, Mevius, Weſtphal. Buſching.

counſellors,

counſellors, four for the duchy of Schwerin, three for Guſtrow, and one for Stargard: theſe officers are choſen from the order of the nobility, and confirmed by the ſovereign. Each circle has alſo a marſhal of its own, which office is hereditary in the noble families of Lutzow, Molzhan, and Hahn.

Committee of the ſtates.

BESIDES the diet there is a committee of the ſtates to direct affairs relating to the general union, and to the preſervation of their rights and privileges. This committee conſiſts of two provincial counſellors, three deputies of the nobility (being one from each circle) one deputy of the town of Roſtock, and one from each capital, viz. from Parchim, Guſtrow, and New Brandenburg. This aſſembly, conſiſting of nine perſons (whoſe number however may be increaſed by the ſtates at their own expence) is conſidered as a college repreſentative of the whole body of the nobility and commons.

Courts of law.

FOR the determination of private property in diſputes ariſing in the country there are three courts of law, thoſe of Schwerin, Guſtrow, and Strelitz. There are alſo two colleges, one at Schwerin and the other at Strelitz, to decide feudal matters. At Roſtock, as we have already obſerved, there is a court called the conſiſtory, in which eccleſiaſtical cauſes are heard. From theſe inferior tribunals an appeal lies to the high and provincial court of juſtice, which is held at Guſtrow four times a year. This court is common, not only to the two ducal lines, but to the ſtates, who have likewiſe a ſhare in its adminiſtration. The dukes appoint the preſident and vice-preſidents and four aſſeſſors. Four extraordinary aſſeſſors and one ordinary are ſent by the nobility; but the other ordinary aſſeſſors are choſen by the principality of Schwerin, and by the univerſity and town of Roſtock. Cauſes however may be removed from this court to the high tribunals of the empire, in caſes in which the privileges granted to the dukes de non appellando do not interpoſe; but in towns the firſt hearing of cauſes is inveſted in the magiſtrates. The ſupreme college belonging to the dukes is that of the privy council of regency; and the de-

meſne chamber has the managing of matters relating to the revenue *.

Revenues of the line of Schwerin.

THE annual revenue of the dukes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin ariſes from the tolls, exciſe, and other duties, which together amount to about ſeven hundred thouſand rix-dollars a year. The contribution of the nobility, purſuant to the perpetual convention of one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-five, is paid by half the hufes of land, which half are taxable. The contributions of the free men reſiding in the eſtates and villages belonging to towns, as alſo thoſe of the towns themſelves, have been finally ſettled: with this annual public revenue, and a ſubſidy proportionable to that yielded by the taxable hufes of the nobility, from his own bailiwicks and demeſnes, the ſovereign is to defray the expences of garriſons, fortifications, envoys, diets extraordinary, aſſemblies, and payments to the chamber at Wetzlar. Notice is annually given of theſe contributions at the diets of the province, and then they are levied by an order of the prince. Such are the ordinary contributions; beſides which there are taxes for the ſervice of the empire, for the circle of Lower Saxony, or for the ſupport of the unmarried princeſſes of the family: of theſe the duke gives notice at the general diet, by communicating an authentic copy of the reſolutions of the empire and circle to that aſſembly. The princeſſes tax is fixed at twenty thouſand rix-dollars, current money, and levied on the whole country without exception, except in ſuch years as a tax is required for the empire and circle.

BESIDES the above contributions there are free gifts, which are regulated by the conſent of the nobility and commons. The villages and parcels of land belonging to corporations, as alſo the vaſſals of the clergy, are obliged to pay their aſſeſſments to thoſe free gifts for the ſervice of the public. But there has been

* Buſching, Kluver, Beehr.

been of late a conſiderable deduction from the revenue of the dukes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, by means of the mortgage of their ſhare of the toll of Boitzenburg and eight bailiwicks to the houſe of Brunſwick-Lunenburg. This was ſettled by the emperor Charles VI. to indemnify that houſe for executing the imperial commiſſion in one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-two, the expences of which amounted to upwards of a million of rix-dollars. The above demeſnes produce an annual income of ſixty thouſand dollars, and were ſequeſtered for the payment of the intereſt of the money expended in executing the imperial commiſſion, as likewiſe for diſcharging part of the capital. But this is not to affect the duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz: his ſtipulated ſhare of the Boitzenburg toll, viz. nine thouſand dollars a year, was ordered to be paid with the uſual regularity.

Revenues of the line of Strelitz.

THE revenues of the dukes of Mecklenburg-Strelitz ariſe from the circle of Stargard, the principality of Ratzeburg, the public contribution of the nobility and commons, and other duties; which may amount in the whole to about two hundred and fifty thouſand rix-dollars per annum.

Forces.

WHAT forces this country is able to maintain is ſomewhat uncertain. It is true that duke Charles Leopold had a conſiderable army on foot; but it was by oppreſſing his ſubjects, and trampling upon the necks of the nobility. The dominions of the duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin have ſuffered greatly by the late diſtractions of Germany, during which the moſt enormous contributions, both in money and recruits, were exacted by the king of Pruſſia. Yet if this country were reſtored to the flouriſhing condition it was in before the war, and perfect harmony continued to ſubſiſt between the princes of the two lines, and the mortgages were diſcharged, it might be eaſy for them to maintain a body of twelve thouſand men, and even to augment them, in caſe of neceſſity, to ſixteen thouſand. The ſtates do not contribute to the maintenance of the troops of the two dukes; but theſe princes are obliged to defray all the

expences

expences of the military eſtabliſhment out of their own revenues. The nobility and their vaſſals are exempted from quartering the ſoldiers; but the towns are only excuſed from finding quarters for the horſe *.

Titles. THE dukes of both lines aſſume the ſame titles, namely, thoſe of duke of Mecklenburg, prince of Wenden, Schwerin, and Ratzeburg, count of Schwerin, and lord of Roſtock and Stargard †.

Arms. THEIR ſhield is party per pale, two bends divided into ſix fields excluſive of an eſcutcheon. The firſt of theſe fields is topaz, a buffalo's head gardant ruby, crowned with horns pearl, with a ring of the ſame through its noſtrils for Mecklenburg. The ſecond is ſapphire, a griffin topaz for Wenden. The third party per feſſe barry of two ſaphire, with a griffin pearl and a lozenge amethyſt. Both theſe are held by Beehr to be the arms of the lordſhip of Roſtock. The eſcutcheon is party per feſſe ruby and topaz, which, according to the ſame author, denotes the arms of the country of Schwerin. The fourth is ruby a croſs wavey pearl, for the principality of Ratzeburg. The fifth ruby an arm cloathed pearl, and bound with a ribbon of the ſame, iſſuing from a cloud, and holding up a ring topaz with a ſtone infixed, for the lordſhip of Stargard. The ſixth is topaz, a buffalo's head diamond, with a crown topaz, and horns pearl, panting and placed oblique; but to what this alludes is uncertain: the creſt is compoſed of five helmets open and crowned. The firſt for Mecklenburg is ſurmounted with five pales, ſharp-pointed, and joined towards the bottom; the firſt azure, the ſecond or, the third gules, the fourth argent, the fifth ſable, ſurmounted alſo with a buffalo's head ſable, crowned with gules, horned argent, contourné and placed in profile, and behind the head is a peacock's tail faſtened towards the bottom to the upper part of the pales. The ſecond for Wenden ſur-

* Buſching.

† Buckholtz, Buſching, Beehr.

mounted

mounted with two wings, the one azure, and the other or. The third for Stargard, ſurmounted with two buffaloes horns couped with gules and or. The fourth for Schwerin, ſurmounted with a half griffin. The fifth for Ratzeburg, ſurmounted with ſeven lances argent, to which are faſtened towards the points the ſame number of ſmall banners, alſo argent. The mantles are of all colours and metals. The ſupporters are, on the right a buffalo, on the left a griffin *.

Vote and ſeat in the diet.

THE duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin has three votes in the college of princes at the diet of the empire, and as many in the aſſembly of the ſtates of Lower Saxony; one for the duchy of Guſtrow, another for the county of Schwerin, and a third for the principality of Schwerin. The duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz has alſo a vote in the ſame aſſemblies, in right of his principality of Ratzeburg; and his ſerene highneſs has a juſt pretence to another vote for Stargard, which in all probability will be ſoon ſettled to his highneſs's mind by a general reſolution of the imperial diet. The aſſeſſment for this country, excluſive of Schwerin and Ratzeburg, in the matricula of the empire, is forty horſe, and ſixty-ſeven foot, or ſeven hundred and forty-eight florins to a Roman month; but the crown of Sweden pays its proportion of this ſum for the town of Wiſmar and the bailiwics of Poel and Newcloſter. The duchies of Schwerin and Guſtrow pay each two hundred and forty-three rix-dollars to the chamber of Wetzlar †.

Aſſeſſment.

Univerſity of Roſtock.

THIS country can boaſt of a very good univerſity, namely, that of Roſtock, which has produced many able profeſſors in moſt branches of learning; witneſs Cranzius, Chytræus, Bocerus, Poſſelius, Caſſelius, &c. It was founded by the dukes and by the magiſtrates of the town in one thouſand four hundred and nineteen, and endowed by pope Martin V. with pri-

* Beehr, Buſching, Spener, Imhoff.

† Buſching, Beehr.

vileges,

vileges, which were afterwards confirmed by the emperor Ferdinand I. At the beginning of the reformation it was almoſt deſerted by its profeſſors and ſtudents, till Arnold Buren undertook to reſtore it in one thouſand five hundred and thirty; and the emperor Ferdinand I. favoured it with a new charter in one thouſand five hundred and ſixty. Since that time this ſeat of learning has ſeemed to flouriſh, even amidſt the inteſtine broils and diſturbances of the empire. In one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-three the dukes and the town entered into an agreement for maintaining twenty-four profeſſors, fifteen of whom are appointed by the prince, and nine by the town: the dukes were to contribute three thouſand florins, and the town five hundred, towards their ſalaries. The univerſity is governed by a ſenate, conſiſting of nine ducal profeſſors, and nine appointed by the magiſtrates *. It is not long ſince the reigning duke of Schwerin founded another univerſity at Butzow in the principality of Schwerin; but the conſequences of the late war have greatly retarded its progreſs.

Deſcription of the country.

In deſcribing the ſeveral diſtricts of this country we ſhall follow the order obſerved in the title of the ſovereigns: by this their dominions are divided into the ancient duchy of Mecklenburg, the principalities of Wenden, Schwerin, and Ratzeburg, the county of Schwerin, and the lordſhips of Roſtock and Stargard.

* Kluver, Buſching, Beehr.

I. Of

I.

Of the ancient DUCHY of MECKLENBURG.

THE ancient duchy of Mecklenburg is ſituated on the Baltic Sea, and is bounded on the land ſide by the duchy of Saxe-Lawenburg, the county and principality of Schwerin, and the lordſhip of Roſtock. It takes its name from the ancient city of Mecklenburg, formerly the capital of the Obotrites, and contains the following towns and places, viz. Wiſmar, Mecklenburg, Gadebuſch, Greveſmuhlen, New Buckow, Kropelien, Wangern, Neuenburg, Crammon, Datzow, Groſs-Eixen, Borzow, Bolenburg, and Daſſow *. Ancient duchy of Mecklenburg.

WISMAR is the chief town of this diſtrict, ſeated on a bay of the Baltic, with an excellent harbour. The time of its foundation is not well aſcertained: a town or village is ſaid to have been built on this ſpot in three hundred and forty by Wiſimar, king of the Vandals, from whom it took its name. This was afterwards deſtroyed, and there ſtill remains a church known by the name of Old Wiſmar. In order to preſerve the memory of that original, the magiſtrates of this place have ordered the following inſcription over a window of the townhouſe; Wiſmar.

"Hæc civitas condita eſt a Wiſimaro."

Out of the ruins of that place, and thoſe of the neighbouring city of Mecklenburg, the preſent Wiſmar is ſaid to have been formed in the thirteenth century †. But the original of all great cities is generally obſcure; moſt of them having been raiſed, by a concurrence of lucky circumſtances, from low beginnings. Wiſmar became afterwards one of the Hanſe Towns; the conveniency of its harbour having raiſed it to a moſt extenſive

* Kluver, Beehr, Buckholtz.

† This honour is commonly attributed to Gunzelin II. count of Schwerin; but Cremnitz and Latomus have clearly refuted that opinion, and made John the Theologian the chief reſtorer of Wiſmar.

commerce. After many revolutions, the Swedes got poſſeſſion of this town in one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-two; and it was ceded to that nation, together with the iſland of Poel, and the bailiwic of New-Cloſter, by the treaty of Weſtphalia. It was very ſtrongly fortified, till the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixteen, when it fell into the hands of the Danes and Pruſſians, by whom it was diſmantled. In this condition it was afterwards reſtored to Sweden, to which crown it now belongs. Wiſmar however is ſtill one of the beſt and largeſt towns in the whole country of Mecklenburg, being adorned with ſeveral good buildings: the principal are, the town-houſe, the churches of St. Nicholas and St. George, the Holy Ghoſt, and eſpecially that of St. Mary, from which there is a fine proſpect of the Baltic. An iron rail round the front of this church is ſhewn as an excellent piece of workmanſhip. There is alſo a handſome abbey, called New-Cloſter, and an old caſtle, which retains the name of the palace of Mecklenburg. The market-place is ſpacious and well-built. The town has a particular conſiſtory of its own, with a grammar-ſchool under the direction of eight maſters. This is alſo the ſeat of a Swediſh court of juſtice, conſiſting of a preſident, a vice-preſident, and four aſſeſſors. It had formerly the privilege of coining, and ſtill enjoys a middling trade. The iſland of Poel, which was yielded to the Swedes at the ſame time as Wiſmar, lies towards the mouth of the harbour, about four miles from that city. The bailiwic of New-Cloſter derived its name from a famous monaſtery, which was removed hither from Sonnenkamp near Weſtenbrugge in the year 1233.

Mecklenburg. MECKLENBURG, anciently the capital of this whole country, is by ſome old hiſtorians called Megapolis, and ſuppoſed to have taken its name from its extenſive circumference of twenty miles. It is ſituated between the lake of Schwerin and the town of Wiſmar. By whom it was founded there is no certain account; but according to vulgar tradition it was built by Anthyrius the firſt king of the Vandals. We ſhall often have occaſion

occaſion to mention this place in the courſe of our hiſtory: let it ſuffice now to obſerve that it was burned in one thouſand one hundred and ſixty-four by Pribiſlaus II. the laſt king of the Obotrites, who afterwards rebuilt it in one thouſand one hundred and ſeventy. But it could never recover its ancient ſplendor; and ſince the increaſe of Wiſmar it has ſunk inſenſibly into a village.

Gadebuſch.

GADEBUSCH, or Gotteſbuſch, is a town ſituated on the river Radegaſt, about four miles from the county of Schwerin, and famous for the victory obtained here over the Danes in one thouſand ſeven hundred and twelve by the Swediſh general Steinbock. Its name ſignifies Lucus or Saltus Dei, the God's Grove, an idol having been erected here in a wood for the worſhip of Radegaſt the god of the Obotrites. Henry Burevinus I. was either the founder or reſtorer of this town. In the church of Gadebuſch they pretend to ſhew ſome of Radegaſt's relics, eſpecially a piece of metal over the window at the weſt end of the church, which ſome imagine to be a fragment of the ancient idol, and others part of his crown. It is inſerted in the wall in the form of a roſe, according to the Gothic architecture.

Greveſmuhlen.

GREVESMUHLEN ſignifies the Count's Mill; but how it came to have that denomination I cannot diſcover. In ancient records it is ſtiled Comitis Mola. The town is ſituated on the borders of the province towards Lubeck: it is but ſmall, and has had often the misfortune of being greatly damaged by fire: the laſt time was in one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-ſix *.

NewBuckow.

NEW BUCKOW is alſo a ſmall town, ſo called by way of diſtinction from Old Buckow, a village in that neighbourhood. It is ſituated between Kropelien and Wiſmar, and is ſaid to have derived its name from the old Venedic word buk or bug, ſigni-

* This remark may be applied to almoſt every town in this country, moſt of them having been either deſtroyed or greatly ſuffered by fire.

fying a deity, becauſe it had formerly an idol in high veneration among the Slavi. The founder of this place is not known.

Kropelien. KROPELIEN is a ſmall town, which has often ſuffered by fire; and by that of one thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-eight it had the misfortune of loſing its charter. Duke Albert II. however reſtored it to its ancient rights, with an addition of new privileges, which were afterwards confirmed by different princes. It is ſituated between Roſtock and Wiſmar.

Wangern. WANGERN, Groſs-Eixen, Borzow, Bolenburg, Neuenburg, Crammon, Datzow, and Daſſow, are only villages, though in ſome maps they are marked as towns *.

II.

The PRINCIPALITY of WENDEN.

Principality of Wenden. THIS principality forms the greateſt part of the dominions of Mecklenburg. It takes its name from the nation of the Venedi or Wendi, who poſſeſſed this country, under the government of their own kings, before the Saxon war in the twelfth century. Its boundaries are Pomerania, the lordſhip of Stargard, the marquiſate of Brandenburg, the duchy of Luneburg, the county and principality of Schwerin, and the lordſhip of Roſtock.

THE principal towns and places contained in this principality on the eaſt ſide are Guſtrow, Waldenhagen, Teterow, Grubenhagen, Nienkahlden, Malchin, Ivenack, Stavenhagen, Varchow, Penzlin, Robel, Wredenhagen, Waren, Malchow, Plawe, Goldberg, Krackow, and Dobbertin: on the weſt ſide Sternberg, Lubitz, Parchim, Nieſtadt, Grabow, Eldena, and Domitz †.

* Beehr, Kluver, Buſching.

† Buckholtz, Beehr.

GUSTROW

GUSTROW is the capital of the circle and principality of Wenden, and once the reſidence of the dukes of the line of Guſtrow. Its diſtance from Wiſmar is about ſix or ſeven leagues, and four from Roſtock. From its name one would think it to be of Venedic original; it is either derived from gutz-trawei, importing a green hill; or from geſtri and row, ſignifying a frequent ditch. Its ſituation anſwers to both theſe etymologies; for it is ſurrounded with pleaſant hills, and ſtands on the little river Nebel, by which the adjacent meadows are well watered. It was founded in 1220 by Henry Burevinus I. His ſon Henry Burevinus II. made a grant to it of the woods of Peemer and Kleeſt, and moreover favoured it with the laws of Schwerin. The great church, dedicated to St. Cecilia, was begun by the laſt-mentioned prince in 1226. It is famous for the ſumptuous tombs and marble ſtatues of many of the dukes of Mecklenburg, who have been interred in this place. Here is alſo a genealogical table of all the dukes of Mecklenburg, engraved on marble, by order of Elizabeth of Denmark, wife to duke Ulric IV. Beſides this there is a pariſh church, and a chapel dedicated to the Holy Ghoſt. The town is adorned with ſome good buildings, and among the reſt with a ducal palace, which, though it be of Gothic ſtructure, is admired for its magnificence. Before it there is a ſpacious area, and the inſide forms a handſome ſquare. The apartments are very beautiful, the ſtables and other offices convenient, and the whole is ſurrounded by an elegant garden. The chief courts of judicature are held at Guſtrow, and here alſo is a ſuperintendency for the direction of eccleſiaſtical affairs *. The principal trade of the inhabitants is in ſtrong beer, which they brew very good, and agreeable to the ſtomach; it is called in the Venedic language kneſenack, which ſignifies princely beer, from John the Theologian, prince of Mecklenburg, who was fond of this liquor. Not far from hence, and near the village of Wick, ſtood the famous city of Werle; it Guſtrow.

* Beehr.

has

has been long ſince deſtroyed, and out of its ruins aroſe the town of Schwan.

Teterow. TETEROW is a town, agreeably ſituated in the neighbourhood of a little lake three leagues from Guſtrow. The name is Venedic, and ſignifies a quail, of which there is plenty in this neigbourhood.

Robel. ROBEL is a pleaſant town, ſituated on the great lake of Muritz. It is divided into Old and New Robel: the latter appears to have been founded towards the beginning of the thirteenth century by Henry Burevinus. Here was formerly a convent of Dominicans, in whoſe church many of the princes of Werle have been interred. The old town is conjectured by ſome to have been the ancient Rhetre; at leaſt it is agreed that Rhetre ſtood in this neighbourhood. Cranzius ſuppoſes this to have been the ſpot where the famous Venedic idol Radegaſt was adored.

Wredenhagen. WREDENHAGEN is a town which once belonged to the knights templars; its revenues are now mortgaged to the houſe of Brandenburg.

Wahren. WAHREN is a town ſeated on the lake of Calpin. It is ſuppoſed * to have taken its name from the ancient Varni or Warini, who in the opinion of ſome writers were ſettled on the banks of the river Varna near the lakes of Muritz and Calpin. It is remarkable only for having been often deſtroyed by fire.

Plawe. PLAWE is ſaid to have been built in 1228 by John the Theologian. It is ſituated on a lake to which it gives its name, and out of which iſſues the river Elde. This was formerly a place of ſome ſtrength, and there are ſtill the ruins of a caſtle extant, to which they give the name of Borgwall. The ſituation is

* Weſtphal de ſacco & lib.

extremely

extremely agreeable, and the place carries on ſome trade, having three mills, one for corn, another for ſhagged cloth, and a third for paper.

KRAKOW and GOLDBERG are ſmall towns alſo ſituated on lakes to which they give their names; the former is ſaid to be the oldeſt town in Mecklenburg, and to have belonged to the knights of Malta. The latter was built by Pribiſlaus III. in 1250, and has ſuffered by frequent fires. The neighbouring country is extremely fertile, eſpecially the part called Prieſterland, or the land belonging to the prieſts, which the citizens of Goldberg formerly purchaſed of the monks of Dobbertin. Krakow and Goldberg.

STERNBERG ſtands on a lake nearly in the center of the province, and commands a pleaſant proſpect. Without the town, on the Judenberg, is a place called Buckholtz, where, and at Malchin, the diets are alternately held. Sternberg.

LUBITZ or LUBZ is a town ſituated on the river Elde, whoſe waters are increaſed by another ſtream that flows from New-Cloſter and Kriwitz. Here ſtood formerly a caſtle, which was begun to be built in 1308 by John margrave of Brandenburg, and finiſhed by his brother Otho. It is now gone to decay; but there are a few apartments ſtill remaining. Lubitz.

MALCHIN is a town in the neighbourhood of Pomerania, ſituated at the influx of the river Peine into the lake of Cummerow. This was formerly a place of great ſtrength, being built on an eminence, and ſurrounded by deep lakes. It ſuffered much in the thirty years war, having been ſeized and plundered by the Imperialiſts and the Swedes. At preſent it is remarkable only for being the ſeat of the diet alternately with Sternberg. Malchin.

GRABOW

Grabow. GRABOW is a town ſituated on the Elde, and raiſed from a village in 1255 by Wolrad count of Danneberg. It came afterwards into the poſſeſſion of the dukes of Mecklenburg, who pulled down the old caſtle and built a new one, which was much admired for the elegance of the ſtructure, and the beauty of its ſituation, being ſurrounded by a river and a pleaſant park. This ſeat was once the reſidence of the preſent houſe of Schwerin; but it is now aſſigned for the uſe of the ducheſs dowager. The town has a pretty good trade in corn and malt liquor: there is plenty of fiſh in the river, on one ſide of which they have a mill for grinding corn, and on the other a paper-mill, and two more for making oil. The town is alſo well ſupplied with wood, from the liberality of duke Henry the Fat, who made the inhabitants a preſent of the grove or wood called Horn. In 1725 both the town and ſeat were unfortunately conſumed by fire.

Parchim. PARCHIM is the beſt and largeſt town in this principality next to Guſtrow, being about three miles in circumference, and the metropolis of the circle of Mecklenburg. It is a place of ſo great antiquity, that ſome think it to be the Aliſtum of Ptolemy; others pretend that the Venedi worſhipped here an idol of pure gold, to which they gave the name of Parchumum: be that as it may, it was rebuilt by prince Henry I. in 1218, and had anciently a caſtle, which is gone to ruin. It ſtands in a very pleaſant country on the river Elde, which here forms two branches: theſe divide Parchim into the old and the new town, both of which have a parochial church. The adjacent fields are very agreeable; towards the ſouth are fine groves and gentle eminences, and to the north is a ſpacious plain. On the river Elde there is a lock which facilitates the navigation from thence into the Elbe. Parchim, as the capital of the circle of Mecklenburg, ſends a deputy to the committee of the ſtates; it alſo convenes the

towns

towns within its own juriſdiction, and preſides in the aſſembly. From Parchim a branch of the houſe of Mecklenburg formerly took its name. This place is famous for malt liquor, and has ſuffered much by fire, eſpecially by that in 1684.

NEWSTADT is a ſmall town ſituated on the Elde, and built in the 13th century by Gunzelinus II. count of Schwerin, who gave it this name, when before it was called Lefenitz, on account of a large wood in the neighbourhood. Not far from hence is a pleaſant country-ſeat belonging to the duke of Schwerin, and known by the name of Ludwig-luſt: hither his ſerene highneſs often retires in ſummer-time, invited by the agreeableneſs of the ſituation. Newſtadt.

DOMITZ is a town ſituated at the conflux of the Elde and the Elbe: on the latter river there is a toll which produces a conſiderable revenue. The fortifications of the caſtle were erected in 1556 by duke John Albert I. who ſent to Italy for an Italian engineer, named Franciſco Barno: the works were reckoned very good at that time; but the modern improvements in the art of war have leſſened their reputation. Domitz.

STAVENHAGEN is a ſmall town, which formerly belonged to the dukes of Pomerania, but was granted to a prince of the houſe of Mecklenburg, for ſervices done to duke Bogiſlaus of Pomerania in time of war. It takes its name from a fiſh-pond in the neighbourhood, which in the Venedic language is called Staweni. Stavenhagen.

NIENKAHLDEN is a ſmall town built in 1281 by Waldemar II. prince of Roſtock, and often conſumed by fire. Its ſituation is extremely pleaſant, having a view of the lake of Cummerow and part of Hither Pomerania. Weſtphal thinks it derives its name from a religious ſociety, known by the name of Nienkahlden

Fratres Kalendarum *, which is the reaſon of its being called Nien-Kaland in the old diplomas. It ſeems there was another town, ſtiled Alt-Kaland, about four miles from thence, of which there are no veſtiges.

Ivenack.

IVENACK is a market-town not far from Stavenhagen, and remarkable for a ducal ſeat. The bailiwic of Ivenack is ceded to the family of Pleſſen.

Pentzlin.

PENTZLIN is a ſmall town ſituated on a little lake near the principality of Stargard: when and by whom it was built is not known; but in 1501 it was conferred by the dukes as a fief, together with the title of baron, on the family of Molzahn, who have engaged to maintain the rights and privileges of the inhabitants.

Malchow.

MALCHOW is a very ancient town, built by the Venedi, between the Plawe and Calpin lakes. It has no walls, but is encompaſſed with water: on the eaſt ſide is a place called the Borch-wall, where formerly ſtood a caſtle, now in ruins. There was alſo a caſtle built by the Venedi, about half a mile from hence, upon a hill ſurrounded with deep lakes and broad ditches, which is called the Laſchendorper Woerder. There is a convent at Malchow, which formerly belonged to the Auguſtine nuns; but the dukes made a grant of it to the ſtates in 1572. This convent has fourteen vil-

* The Fratres Kalendarum were ſo called from holding their aſſemblies on the firſt day of the month, in order to regulate the faſts, alms, and religious exerciſes which they were to perform during that month. The time of their inſtitution is not known with any certainty; but they are ſuppoſed to have made their firſt appearance in the 13th century. They differed from all other orders, ſince they admitted clergy and laity, men and women. As they made great entertainments on the firſt day of the month, ſeveral diſorders and abuſes were committed at thoſe meetings; which was the occaſion of their being ſuppreſſed about the time of the reformation.

lages under its jurisdiction, as also the patronage of the town of Malchow.

DOBBERTIN is a convent for Lutheran ladies, situated in a small lake not far from Goldberg. It was founded by prince Henry I. for Benedictine monks, and converted into a nunnery of that order in 1222. At the reformation the lands were sequestered, and in 1572 transferred by the sovereign to the states: there are twenty-eight villages subject to its jurisdiction. In regard to the regulation of this convent, as well as those of Malchow and Ribbenitz, see Kluver, part II. p. 108. Dobbertin.

ELDENA is only a village, situated on the river Elde, which here divides itself into two branches, and about four miles further mingles its waters with those of the Elbe. The salt-works belonging to this bailiwic are remarkable: there are also some allum mines, discovered in 1577, in a hill between Eldena and Grabow. Eldena.

WALDENHAGEN, GRUBENHAGEN, and VARCHOW, are villages, though marked as towns in some maps of this country *. Waldenhagen, Grubenhagen, and Varchow.

* Kluver, Beehr, Busching, Buckholtz.

III.

The PRINCIPALITY of SCHWERIN.

Principality of Schwerin.

THE principality of Schwerin is bounded by the ancient duchy of Mecklenburg, the principality of Wenden, the county of Schwerin, and the lordſhip of Roſtock; extending in length about twenty miles, and ſix in breadth. It was formerly a biſhopric, founded in 1170 by Henry the Lion duke of Saxony. At the peace of Weſtphalia it was made a temporal principality, and granted to the dukes of Mecklenburg as an indemnity, together with the biſhopric of Ratzeburg, for the loſs of Wiſmar, which had been ceded to the Swedes.

THE town of Schwerin belongs to the county of that name; the principality contains the following places, Butzow, Nien-Cloſter, Bruel, and Rhenen.

Butzow.

BUTZOW is ſaid to be the ancient Bucephalea, ſo called from Alexander's Bucephalus, and ſuppoſed to have been built by king Anthyrius about 336 years before the birth of Chriſt. It is adorned with a caſtle, where the biſhops of Schwerin formerly reſided. Several manufactories were erected in this place by French refugees during the adminiſtration of duke Frederic William; and the reigning duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin has founded an univerſity in this town.

Schelffe.

THE SCHELFFE, or NEUSTADT, lies ſo contiguous to Schwerin, the duke's reſidence, that it appears to be a ſuburb to that city, though indeed it is a ſeparate town, and governed by its own magiſtrates. The French refugees, who ſettled here in 1705, were favoured with ſeveral privileges.

NIEN-

NIEN-CLOSTER, as we have already obſerved, is ſubject to the crown of Sweden. Nien-Cloſter.

BRUEL is a town that formerly belonged to the family of Pleſſen, by whom it was raiſed from a village in 1340. It afterwards fell into the hands of other families, and was purchaſed by the duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin in 1754. It ſtands on a little river that comes from Nien-Cloſter and directs its courſe towards Criwitz and Lubz. Bruel.

RHENEN is a town ſituated on the river Radegaſt. Here ſtood a nunnery of Lutheran ladies, which was ſuppreſſed by a convention between the two dukes in 1754, and for ever ceded to the duke of Schwerin. Before the reformation it was a nunnery of Benedictines, founded in 1236 *. Rhenen.

IV.

The PRINCIPALITY of RATZEBURG.

THE principality of Ratzeburg is ſituated between the duchies of Saxe-Lawenburg and Schwerin, and part of the territory of the city of Lubeck, extending about ſix miles in length, and as many in breadth. This was one of the biſhoprics erected by Henry the Lion in 1154; but at the peace of Weſtphalia it was converted into a temporal ſee, and granted to the houſe of Mecklenburg, together with the biſhopric of Schwerin, as we have before mentioned, in conſideration for Wiſmar ceded to Sweden. By the convention of Hamburg in 1701 it was ſettled on the Strelitz line, which is thereby intitled to a ſeat and voice in the college of princes at the imperial diet. Principality of Ratzeburg.

RATZEBURG is ſaid to have taken its name from Razzo prince of Rugen, who deſtroyed Lubeck in 1139. It is a hand- Ratzeburg.

* Kluver, Buſching.

ſome

ſome town, ſituated on a hill in the midſt of a deep lake of the ſame name, which greatly adds to its ſtrength. The ſtreets are regularly laid out, and moſt of the houſes built after the Dutch taſte. There is a communication from hence by water with Lubeck, which renders it a place of ſome trade. The greateſt part of the town of Ratzeburg is ſubject to the elector of Hanover, as duke of Saxe-Lawenburg. The quarter annexed to the principality contains the cathedral, with ſome buildings belonging to his ſerene highneſs the duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, particularly the apartments for the mint, and thoſe for holding the courts of eccleſiaſtic and civil law. The cathedral was built by his preſent majeſty's illuſtrious anceſtor Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria. Here travellers are led to ſee the ſilver figures of Chriſt and the apoſtles, the magnificent altar, and the beautiful choir, under which are the tombs of the dukes of Saxe-Lawenburg. The Palmberg is a large ſquare, adorned with pleaſant walks of lime-trees: at the end of this ſquare ſtands the duke's palace, in which reſides, in his highneſs's abſence, the chief of his counſellors for the principality. The bridge on the Mecklenburg ſide is in length above four hundred paces, and coſt upwards of ten thouſand rix-dollars; but the inhabitants are obliged to keep it in repair.

Schonberg.

SCHONBERG ſignifies Mount Pleaſant: this was once the reſidence of the biſhops of Ratzeburg, who had here an agreeable ſeat, which gave its name to the town *.

* Kluver, Beehr, Buſching.

V. The

V.

The COUNTY of SCHWERIN.

County of Schwerin.

THIS county derives its name from the capital: it was formerly governed by its own counts, whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention in this hiſtory. Its boundaries are, the ancient duchy of Mecklenburg, the principality of Schwerin, the principality of Wenden, and the duchy of Luneburg. It contains the following towns, Schwerin, Criwitz, Redewin, Wittenburg, and Boitzenburg.

Schwerin city.

SCHWERIN is the capital of the dominions of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and the uſual reſidence of the dukes of that line. Some apprehend this to be the Marione of Ptolemy; but there is no proof of ſuch antiquity: on the contrary, it appears from Helmoldus that Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, was the founder of this city. It ſtands extremely pleaſant, on a lake abounding with variety of fiſh. The banks attract the eye by their gentle acclivity, partly covered with woods, and partly laid out in pleaſant meadows and gardens. The woods abound with game, the meadows with paſture. The game in this neighbourhood is ſuppoſed by ſome to have given name to this city; Schwerin, in the Venedic language, ſignifying a place ſtocked with wild beaſts. The town is almoſt ſquare, and divided into three parts, viz. Schwerin, the New Town, and the Moor, which are nearly encompaſſed by the lake. Schwerin is a very neat city, adorned with ſeveral handſome buildings. The principal church was formerly the cathedral of the ſee of Schwerin, which was founded by duke Henry the Lion in 1170. This church is remarkable, not only for its capacious ſize, but for its being more airy and lightſome than the generality of Gothic ſtructures. The ſame prince had undertaken to fortify this

town

town in 1161, and appointed Gunzelin to that government, with the title of count: ſuch was the origin of the counts of Schwerin. Gunzelin held it afterwards as a fief of the duke of Saxony; and his poſterity happening to fail in 1360, it reverted to its ancient ſovereign the duke of Mecklenburg. Henry the Lion favoured it alſo with a charter, which contained very conſiderable privileges: hence the freedom of Schwerin was almoſt as much regarded as that of Lubeck. The communication between this city and the famous ports of Hamburg and Lubeck, occaſions a briſk trade in wine and other foreign commodities. We have already mentioned the Schelffe, which lies ſo contiguous as to ſeem a part of the town; however it is a ſeparate juriſdiction, being ſubject to the principality of Schwerin. Here is a church, dedicated to St. Nicholas, and admired for the beauty of its ſituation. The Franciſcan convent at Schwerin was afterwards turned into a court of juſtice, and part of it into a public granary. The chapel of St. George in the ſuburbs was converted into a foundery for the caſting of bells and cannon. The ducal palace ſtands moſt delightfully on an iſland formed by the lake, and has a communication with the town by means of a bridge: it is not only adorned with a handſome chapel, neat apartments, and convenient offices, but fortified after the manner of a caſtle, and commands a charming proſpect. To theſe natural advantages have been added the improvements of art; for the gardens are laid out in a moſt elegant taſte.

Criwitz, Redewin, and Wittenburg.

CRIWITZ and REDEWIN are inconſiderable towns, that contain nothing remarkable. WITTENBURG is a middling town, ſituated on a ſmall river on the frontiers of Mecklenburg, towards the duchy of Saxe-Lawenburg. It was endowed with great privileges in 1323 by Gunzelin count of Schwerin. There is a caſtle here of ſome antiquity; but nothing elſe worthy of notice.

BOITZENBURG

BOITZENBURG is a handſome town, ſituated on the Elbe, at the conflux of the little river Boitze, from whence it takes its name. At firſt it was only an open village, but in proceſs of time it received a conſiderable increaſe by the trade in ſalt, which was conveyed to this place from Lunenburg in boats, and from thence to Wiſmar in waggons. For the protection of this trade the merchants thought proper to ſurround the town with walls. Since the opening of the canal of Delmenow by the city of Lubeck, Boitzenburg has loſt the ſalt trade, yet ſtill carries on a conſiderable commerce by the vicinity of Hamburg and Lubeck, and the navigation of the Elbe. The toll on this river produces an annual revenue of forty thouſand rix-dollars, nine thouſand of which, as we have already mentioned, are paid to the houſe of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, in purſuance of the agreement at Hamburg in 1701. How this toll came to be mortgaged to the houſe of Brunſwick has been already mentioned *. Boitzenburg.

VI.

The LORDSHIP of ROSTOCK.

THIS lordſhip is ſo called from its capital of that name: it is ſituated on the Baltick, and bounded by Pomerania, the principalities of Wenden and Schwerin, and by the ancient duchy of Mecklenburg. It contains the following towns and places, viz. Roſtock, Biſtow, Warnemunde, Dobberan, Schwan, Lage, Oldenkahlden, Dargun, Gnoyen, Teſſin, Sulte, Marlow, and Ribbenitz. Lordſhip of Roſtock.

* Buſching, Kluver.

Roſtock city. ROSTOCK, anciently called Rotztoch, Roſarum Urbs *, is the largeſt and beſt built town in the whole country of Mecklenburg: it is ſituated in a very wholeſome air, within a league of the Baltick, on the river Warna or Warnow, by means of which it carries on a conſiderable commerce. It properly conſiſts of three parts, the Old, the Middle, and the New Towns. The firſt ſtanding on an eminence towards the eaſt, contains the churches of St. Nicholas, St. Peter, and St. Catherine. This is ſeparated from the Middle Town by an arm of the Warnow. The ſecond comprehends St. Mary's church, a very handſome ſtructure, in which are preſerved the intrails of the celebrated Grotius, who died in this city in 1645. The church of St. John, as likewiſe the public library, and the town-houſe, belong to this quarter. In the third, or the New Town, are the univerſity and the conſiſtory, with ſeveral churches, and a Lutheran convent for young ladies, natives of Roſtock. The univerſity was founded in 1419, and has eight colleges. The whole city is regularly laid out, and adorned with handſome buildings; it contains three ſpacious market-places, with one hundred and forty ſtreets. There are ſix bridges in the town, with four large and fourteen leſſer gates, which look towards the river. The chief buildings are, the town-houſe, the arſenal, the public ſtables, the mills, and the ſhambles. The magiſtrates, who are poſſeſſed of civil and criminal juriſdiction, conſiſt of four burgomaſters, one ſyndic, twelve aldermen, one ſecretary, and a prothonotary. Roſtock ſends a deputy to the committee, and a particular aſſeſſor to the two ſupreme courts of juſtice. Its privileges are ſo very extraordinary, that it has been often conſidered as a free imperial city; yet it acknowledges ſubjection to the dukes of Mecklenburg, to whom it pays the yearly tribute of fifty-five rix-dollars, beſides ſix hundred florins, in conſideration of the grant of an exciſe. Roſtock

* Some will have the name of Roſtock to be of Venedic original, and to ſignify either a marſhy land or a diviſion of waters: others derive it from the Venedic word Roſtawit (Reſurrection) becauſe it roſe out of the ruins of the ancient city of Kiſſen.

ſtill

ſtill carries on a flouriſhing trade. The dukes are poſſeſſed of the manſion-houſe, formerly belonging to the abbot of Dobberan, and have often made it their reſidence. The firſt foundation of this city was by Godeſcalcus *, king of the Venedi and Obotrites; it was afterwards enlarged and fortified by Pribiſlaus II. in 1160, out of the ruins of the town of Kiſſen, which ſtood in this neighbourhood. It received great franchiſes from its ſovereigns, and among the reſt the right of coining money, and the privilege of being governed by the jus Lubicenſe, or according to the laws of Lubeck †. In the thirteenth century it entered into the Hanſeatic confederacy; but was ſtill governed by its own Lords, who were a branch of the houſe of Mecklenburg. This branch became extinct upon the death of Nicholas Puer in 1314, who had put himſelf and his territories under the protection of Eric king of Denmark. Towards the middle of the fourteenth century it ſhook off the Daniſh yoke, which produced a vigorous war: but Henry the Lion prince of Mecklenburg joining with the Danes, the town was beſieged, and obliged to ſubmit to the crown of Denmark. Henry was appointed governor; and both the town and lordſhip of Roſtock were afterwards transferred to him in full ſovereignty by king Chriſtopher. The citizens had afterwards frequent diſputes with their dukes in regard to their privileges; which diſputes were often productive of wars, and compoſed at length by different treaties: the laſt was the famous convention of 1755 ‡.

Warnemunde

THE harbour of Warnemunde, at the mouth of the Warnow, is ſubject to Roſtock, yet the crown of Sweden has had a fort

* Godeſcalcus ſeems to have only built a fort on this ſpot, to keep the Kiſſini in awe: he died in 1066.

† We ſhall give an account in this hiſtory of the jus Lubicenſe, ſo greatly eſteemed by the Germans. The ſix cities known by the name of Vandalic, were governed by this law: their names were, Lubeck, Hamburg, Roſtock, Stralſund, Wiſmar, and Lunenburg.

‡ Bacmeiſter, Kluver, Beehr, Buſching.

there ever ſince the thirty years war; by which means they oblige every veſſel paſſing that way to pay a toll of two rix-dollars and a half. The dukes of Mecklenburg have complained of this impoſition, alledging, that the toll-right granted to Sweden by the treaty of Weſtphalia was to be underſtood only of the harbours belonging to thoſe towns, which were ceded to that crown. The Swedes however, about the year 1740, mortgaged the toll to the duke of Mecklenburg. When the trade of Roſtock was in a more proſperous condition, this toll produced an annual revenue of eighty thouſand rix-dollars; but at preſent it does not yield much more than ſix thouſand.

Dobberan. DOBBERAN was formerly a Ciſtercian monaſtery, founded in 1170, at the diſtance of about two miles from the ſea. Upon the reformation the abbey was diſſolved, and the building changed into a hunting-ſeat for the dukes of Mecklenburg, who applied the produce of its lands towards paying the ſalaries of the profeſſors of the univerſity of Roſtock. The church is ſtill remaining, and deſerves particular notice on account of its having been long the burying-place of this illuſtrious family, many of whoſe monuments, with their epitaphs, are ſtill extant. Here alſo are the figures and ſtatues of moſt of the princes and dukes of Mecklenburg, ſome of which are done to the life. There are ſeveral inſcriptions in this church which deſerve particular notice; among the reſt that on the organ:

Hinc venti dociles reſono ſe carcere ſolvunt,
Et cantum accepta pro libertate rependunt.

Schwan. SCHWAN is a town ſituated on the Warnow, half way between Roſtock and Guſtrow. It was built in 1235 by Nicholas V. prince of Werle, out of the ruins of the old city of Werle, which ſtood near the junction of the Nebel and the Warnow. The name Schwan is Venedic, and ſignifies holy; the old heathen goddeſs Siwa having been worſhipped on this particular ſpot, in the midſt of woods and lakes. Here is a palace belonging to the duke, in a moſt agreeable ſituation. The neigh-

neighbourhood of this town affords good clay for bricks, which are tranſported on the Warnow to Roſtock, where the brick-kilns have failed for want of wood. The inhabitants of Schwan brew very good beer, for which there is a conſiderable demand in that neighbourhood.

Lage. LAGE is a ſmall town three or four miles from Roſtock. It is ſaid to have been built in the fourteenth century by Henry the Lion, prince of Mecklenburg, who, after his own name, called it Læam, as much as to ſay, Leonis Urbem.

Dargun. DARGUN or DRAGUN, ſignifying Precious in the Venedic language, was formerly a Benedictine monaſtery, founded in 1149, as appears by the following barbarous verſes in an ancient charter:

Anno milleno, centeno, quadrageſimo nono
Poſt partum Chriſti, tu Dargun facta fuiſti.

At the reformation the lands were formed into a bailiwick, and the monaſtery converted into a ducal palace. It ſtands in a pleaſant ſituation not far from the Cummerow lake.

Gnoyen. GNOYEN is a town ſituated upon the borders of Pomerania upon a little river, which runs eaſtward into the Trebel. It is of Venedic original, and derives its name from the fatneſs of the ſoil; but it does not appear by whom it was founded.

Sulte. SULTE or SULZE is a little town on the river Reckenitz, belonging to the family of Luhe, by a grant from the houſe of Mecklenburg in 1459. It contains ſome ſalt ſprings, and has ſeveral boiling-houſes, by which it carries on the ſalt manufacture, from whence it ſeems to derive its name.

Marlow. MARLOW is a ſmall town ſituated on the river Reckenitz. It came to the family of Luhe at the ſame time and in the ſame manner as Sulte.

Ribbenitz. RIBBENITZ is a pretty large frontier town, ſituated on a lake which is formed by the river Reckenitz. It was built in 1271, and is famous for a convent of Lutheran ladies, which has thirteen villages ſubject to its juriſdiction. This was originally a nunnery of the order of St. Clare, founded by the houſe of Mecklenburg in 1323. In 1572 the ſovereign transferred it to the ſtates. The church belonging to the convent is a handſome building, remarkable for the tombs of the lady abbeſſes, moſt of whom were princeſſes of the houſe of Mecklenburg.

Convents of ladies. SINCE we are upon this ſubject, it may be obſerved, that the three convents for ladies in this country, namely, thoſe of Dobbertin, Ribbenitz, and Malchow, are under the direction of the ſtates, who nominate and change the officers, with the prince's aſſent. By the famous agreement of 1755, they are to be maintained in their reſpective privileges: both they and their eſtates are repreſented by the nobility at the country diets. They cannot purchaſe without the approbation of the ſovereign; in ſhort, they are a ſort of free-boarding ſchools, founded upon the ancient eſtabliſhment, where young ladies, generally of the beſt families, are educated: ſome of them ſpend their lives in theſe houſes, without taking either the religious vow or habit; neither are they tied down to many rules, but barely ſuch as are requiſite for the good order of the community. As they can quit thoſe retreats and marry whenever they pleaſe, they cannot be conſidered as loſt to ſociety.

Teſſin. TESSIN is a pretty little town ſituated on the river Reckenitz. The name is derived from a Venedic word, Tees, ſignifying a tribunal or court of juſtice: for here, in all probability, the ancient Venedi held their aſſemblies or comitia for determining civil diſputes among themſelves; ſo that what the Franks and Saxons called mallum vel placitum was diſtinguiſhed among the Venedi by the name of Tees. But this place has nothing elſe to diſtinguiſh it at preſent.

BISTOW

BISTOW and OLDENKAHLD, though marked as towns in ſome maps, are no more than villages *. Biſtow and Oldenkahld.

VII.

The LORDSHIP of STARGARD.

THIS lordſhip forms one of the three circles at the diets of the country, and takes its name from the ancient town of Stargard. Its boundaries are, Pomerania, the marquiſate of Brandenburg, and the principality of Wenden. It formerly belonged to the margraves of Brandenburg, but came by marriage to the houſe of Mecklenburg; Henry the Lion having in 1283 eſpouſed Beatrix, daughter of Albert IV. marquis of Brandenburg. The donation which the latter made with his daughter was diſputed by many of his ſucceſſors, and occaſioned frequent wars, the particulars of which the readers will find in the courſe of this hiſtory. At length Lewis II. elector of Brandenburg reſigned it by treaty in 1349 to the dukes Albert and John; and this ceſſion having been confirmed by the emperor Charles IV. the lordſhip of Stargard was annexed for ever to the duchy of Mecklenburg. In 1621 it became a part of the duchy of Guſtrow; and upon the extinction of that line in 1695, a diſpute ariſing, as we have already obſerved, between duke Frederic William of the Schwerin branch, and his uncle duke Adolphus Frederic I. of Strelitz, concerning the ſucceſſion to the Guſtrow inheritance, the affair was finally ſettled by the convention of Hamburg in 1701. Here it was agreed that Adolphus Frederic ſhould be inveſted with the principality of Ratzeburg, the lordſhip of Stargard, the commanderies of Mirow and Nemerow, and likewiſe receive an annual revenue of nine thouſand dollars out of the toll of Boitzenburg. By virtue of this treaty, therefore, the lordſhip of Stargard was reſtored by Lordſhip of Stargard.

Settled on the Strelitz line.

* Kluver, Beehr, Buſching, Buckholtz.

Frederic

Frederic William duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin to Adolphus Frederic II. duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, cum omni jure principum imperii; ſo that the ſaid duke Adolphus Frederic II. ſhould have a full power and authority of exerciſing in that province the rights territorial and of ſovereign juriſdiction in all civil and eccleſiaſtical cauſes or diſputes. At the ſame time all the vaſſals of Mecklenburg were to hold of him, as the direct and immediate lord of the fief; but the ſtates of the province were to continue indiſſolubly united with the whole body of the ſtates of Mecklenburg, to enjoy as formerly their votes and ſuffrages at the diets, and to be eligible for the public offices of ſtate, as provincial counſellors and aſſeſſors in the high courts of juſtice, and directors or overſeers of the convents. As this lordſhip conſtitutes one of the three circles of the whole country, the duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, in ſummoning his own ſtates, gives notice thereof to the duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and informs him of the propoſals which are to be laid before the aſſembly: he intreats him alſo to ſummon his ſtates to that diet, and to acquaint them with his propoſals. The taxes and contributions raiſed in this circle, like thoſe of the two other circles, are remitted to the common treaſury of the province at Roſtock, from which the contributions are delivered out to the two dukes. Both theſe princes may appoint deputies to inquire into the neceſſities of the circles, and to the ſupreme court of juſtice at Guſtrow; but the conſiſtory at Roſtock depends intirely on the duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. The duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz appoints his ſuperintendent of Stargard to ſit in the conſiſtory at Strelitz, and his aſſeſſor to aſſiſt in the ſupreme court of juſtice at Guſtrow.

THE lordſhip of Stargard contains the following towns and places; Strelitz, New Strelitz, New Brandenburg, Stargard, Weſeberg, Furſtenberg, Feldberg, Woldeck, Friedland, Mirow, and Nimerow *.

* Buſching, Kluver, Beehr.

STRELITZ,

STRELITZ, though not the capital of the circle, yet ſhall have the firſt rank in our deſcription, from its being the reſidence of the dukes of this line. It was erected into a town, and favoured with many privileges in 1349, by Otho and Ulric counts of Furſtenberg of the noble family of Dewitz, on whom it was conferred by the dukes John and Albert, together with Furſtenberg; before that time it was only a village. Upon the diſgrace of that family, it devolved to the houſe of Mecklenburg. It is ſituated in a large plain, almoſt ſurrounded with ſeveral lakes; the neighbouring foreſt extends a vaſt way towards Stargard, and abounds with all ſorts of game: and hence it is ſuppoſed to have derived its name; Strelika in the Venedic language ſignifying a javelin, or a huntſman. And probably the ancient kings of the Obotrites had a hunting-ſeat in this neighbourhood. This town has often ſuffered by fire, yet was choſen by duke Adolphus Frederic for his reſidence on account of the ducal palace. But the palace having alſo undergone the ſame misfortune in 1712, duke Adolphus Frederic III. built another, with great elegance and taſte, about two miles from the town, on a very pleaſant ſpot, where before he had a hunting-ſeat called Glienike. In the year 1733 he alſo founded a new town adjoining to the palace, under the name of New Strelitz: here the privy council, the courts of juſtice, the conſiſtory, and the chamber of finances, are now held. This new town is regularly laid out, and by the encouragement of the duke and his court it enlarges every day; ſo that in all probability the buildings will extend themſelves hereafter to Old Strelitz, and both together will conſtitute one large handſome city. Strelitz.

NEW BRANDENBURG is the capital of the circle of Stargard, and indeed the largeſt and handſomeſt town in the duke of Strelitz's dominions. Its ſituation is very pleaſant, upon a little river, which at a ſmall diſtance diſcharges itſelf into the lake of Tollenſee. The town, like all the reſt in Mecklenburg, has often ſuffered by fire, eſpecially by that in 1737. It is built in a circular form, and the ſtreets are laid out in a regular manner. There are two large churches, ſeveral handſome houſes, a public New Brandenburg.

ſchool, and a ſuperintendency or ſpiritual court for the whole circle. New Brandenburg was built by Herbord Van Raven in 1248 under John I. margrave of Brandenburg, and for ſome time was ſubject to that electorate. It enjoys very great privileges, and carries on a conſiderable trade in hops, with which that neighbourhood abounds. About a mile from New Brandenburg is a wood encompaſſed with marſhes, where ſome old walls are ſtill extant, ſuppoſed to be the ruins of an ancient caſtle called Ravenſburg. There were formerly in this town two princely palaces, which had been conferred upon the counts of Furſtenberg. The palaces are gone to ruin, but the privileges and exemptions annexed to the lands ſtill ſubſiſt in the preſent owners, who have built modern houſes upon the ſpot. In the ſame place is a flouriſhing ſchool, which his ſerene highneſs has taken under his protection. According to ſeveral writers the ancient town of Rhetre ſtood not far from New Brandenburg on the lake of Tollenſee. About ten miles from New Brandenburg, in the neighbourhood of Tollenſee, upon an eminence, are conſiderable ruins of ancient buildings, which confirm the preceding conjecture.

Stargard. STARGARD, or OLD STARGARD, gives its name to the circle: it is a Venedic word, which imports an old town. Above the town is a large ducal palace with a very high tower, formerly a conſiderable fortreſs. It is ſeated on an eminence which commands a pleaſant proſpect. Here the dukes of Mecklenburg-Stargard uſed to reſide; but having no ſprings on the top, the caſtle has been deſerted ſome time by the preſent family, and is now falling to ruin.

Weſeberg. WESEBERG is a little town ſituated on a ſmall lake on the frontiers of Brandenburg. It belonged once to the counts of Furſtenberg, and was a place of conſiderable ſtrength. The ruins of the old caſtle are ſtill extant; but the town itſelf contains nothing remarkable. In the neighbourhood

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is the fertile ſpot of ground called Pomel, which was granted to the inhabitants of this place by Henry the Lion, prince of Mecklenburg.

FURSTENBERG was once the reſidence of the ancient counts of Furſtenberg, whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention more particularly in this hiſtory, under the reign of duke Albert I. The town is pleaſantly ſituated on the frontiers of Brandenburg, between two branches of the Havel, and carries on a conſiderable trade, eſpecially in corn. Furſtenberg.

WOLDECK, or WOLDEGGE, is a ſmall town, formerly a conſiderable fortreſs, encompaſſed with high walls and very deep ditches. It is ſituated on the frontiers of Brandenburg in a country abounding with corn and wood. The town is ancient, and has been favoured with many privileges; but contains nothing remarkable. Woldeck.

FRIEDLAND is a ſmall town, built in 1244 by John I. and Otho III. marquiſſes of Brandenburg, who, from their pacific diſpoſitions, gave it this name; Friedland ſignifying the land of peace. The ſituation formerly was not ſo wholeſome, becauſe of the moraſſes on which it ſtands; but theſe being now drained, the country is improved with fine paſture lands. The town is pretty populous, adorned with two good parochial churches, and being within twelve miles of the harbour of Anklam, is ſupplied from thence with foreign commodities. Friedland.

MIROW and NEMEROW were once commanderies of the order of the knights of Malta, belonging to the grand maſterſhip of Sameburg, but were both ſecularized at the treaty of Weſtphalia, and aſſigned to the dukes of Mecklenburg, to indemnify thoſe princes for their ceſſion of Wiſmar to the Swedes. Mirow is adorned with two ducal palaces, at one of Mirow and Nemerow.

which his ſerene highneſs ſometimes reſides in the ſummer ſeaſon. The town is alſo famous for brewing good beer.

THE foregoing towns and diſtricts, with the principality of Ratzeburg, which we have already deſcribed, complete the preſent dominions of his ſerene highneſs the duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz *.

Pretenſions of the princes of Mecklenburg

THE princes of both lines pretend to the duchy of Saxe-Lauenburg, and to the landgraviate of Leuchtenberg.

to Saxe-Lauenburg.

THEIR pretenſions to the duchy of Saxe-Lauenburg are founded on the compact of inheritance in the year 1431 between Bernard of Saxe-Lauenburg and Henry and John dukes of Mecklenburg; which treaty was renewed in 1518 between Magnus duke of Saxe-Lauenburg and Henry and Albert dukes of Mecklenburg †.

To Leuchtenberg.

THEIR pretenſions to the landgraviate of Leuchtenberg ‡ are founded on the right of expectancy granted to Henry duke of Mecklenburg in the year 1502 by the emperor Maximilian I. who declared that this landgraviate ſhould devolve to the houſe of Mecklenburg, if that of Leuchtenberg came to be extinct. The caſe happened in 1646, by the deceaſe of the laſt landgrave Maximilian Adam; yet the landgraviate was conferred on Albert duke of Bavaria, who had married Matilda, Maximilian Adam's ſiſter. The houſe of Mecklenburg having been greatly weakened by the thirty years war, was not then in a condition to aſſert its rights §.

The preſent dukes of Mecklenburg; their marriage, and iſſue.

THE preſent duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin is Frederic II. born the 9th of November 1717: he married, the 1ſt of March

* Beehr, Kluver, Buſching.

† Nettlebladt, Buckholtz, Beehr.

‡ It is ſituate in the Upper Palatinate.

§ Nettlebladt, Beehr, Buckholtz.

1746, the princeſs Louiſa Frederica, born the 2d of February 1722, only daughter of Frederic Lewis hereditary prince of Wirtenberg, and of the princeſs Henrietta Maria of Brandenburg-Suet. This prince as yet has had no iſſue. He has two ſiſters, Ulrica Sophia abbeſs of Ruhne, born July the 1ſt 1723, and Amelia canoneſs of Hervorden, born the eighth of March 1732.

DUKE Frederic II. has an only brother, prince Lewis; he was born the 6th of Auguſt 1725, and married, the 4th of May 1755, the princeſs Charlotte Sophia, daughter of Francis Joſiah duke of Saxe-Saalfeld, born the 24th of September 1731, by whom he has,

FIRST, Prince Frederic Francis, born the 18th of December 1756.

SECOND, Princeſs Sophia Frederica, born the 24th of Auguſt 1758.

THE preſent duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz is named Adolphus Frederic IV. He was born May the 5th 1738, and ſucceeded to the government the 11th of December 1752. His father was duke Charles Lewis Frederic of Strelitz-Mirow, born the 23d of February 1708, and died the 5th of June 1752. His mother was Albertina Elizabeth, daughter of duke Erneſt Frederic of Saxe-Hildburghauſen, born the 3d of Auguſt 1713, married the 5th of February 1734, and died 1761.

HIS ſerene highneſs was made knight of the Garter in the ſpring of 1764: he is as yet unmarried, and has three brothers and two ſiſters ſtill living: theſe are,

FIRST, Prince Charles Lewis Frederic II. born the 10th of October 1741, now a lieutenant-general in the Hanoverian ſervice.

SECOND,

SECOND, Prince Erneſt Gottlob Albert, born the 27th of Auguſt 1742, a major-general in the Hanoverian ſervice.

THIRD, Prince George Auguſtus, born the 16th of Auguſt 1748, a lieutenant-colonel in the ſervice of the empreſs-queen.

FOURTH, Chriſtiana Sophia Albertina, born the 6th of December 1735.

FIFTH, SOPHIA CHARLOTTE, queen of Great Britain, born the 19th of May 1744; married the 8th of September 1761 to his preſent Majeſty king George the Third.

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VANDALVS.

HERVLVS.

THE HISTORY OF VANDALIA.

BOOK I.

Of the KINGDOM of the VANDALS.

CHAP. I.

Of the Origin, Language, Manners, and Religion of the VANDALS.

I Propoſe to write the hiſtory of the once powerful nations, which ſucceſſively inhabited the ſouthern coaſts of the Baltick, interwoven with that of a family equal in antiquity and illuſtrious connexions to thoſe of moſt of the princes in Europe: a hiſtory diſtinguiſhed by the variety and importance of its ſubject, the viciſſitudes which attend the fate of princes, the conteſts of rival powers, the migrations of nations, the conqueſts of kingdoms, the revolutions of religion and government. In the courſe of this hiſtory we ſhall behold a warlike race of kings, not only oppoſing the encroachments and ſtemming the torrent of Roman power, but directing their march from the borders of the Baltick to the banks of the Tyber, there humbling in its ſource the pride of the miſtreſs of the world, then eſtabliſhing the ſeat of their government in Spain and Africa, and ſpreading the terror of their arms as far as the eaſtern empire. We ſhall afterwards view the ſovereign of

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this country employed in peaceable improvements, repairing the loſſes occaſioned by frequent wars and migrations, and encouraging population, by the reception given to foreign colonies. We ſhall diſtinguiſh their alliances with Charlemagne, and the princes of the Carlovingian line. We ſhall admire their unſhaken fortitude, during the long wars they ſo bravely maintained againſt a powerful confederacy of Daniſh and German princes. We ſhall lament their fate, when, overpowered by numbers, they were diſpoſſeſſed of their dominions, and driven into baniſhment. Still we ſhall ſee them protected by the peculiar care of Providence, and, by an amazing revolution, reinſtated in their dominions; their poſterity conſtituting a reſpectable part of the Germanic body; aſcending the throne of Sweden; aſſerting their juſt claims to Denmark; redreſſing the abuſes of religion; forming alliances and waging war, at different periods, in defence of the public liberty, to which they had almoſt fallen a ſacrifice; contracting intermarriages with the crowns of Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Pruſſia, and Ruſſia; and at length bleſſing theſe kingdoms with an auſpicious union, to which we owe a blooming race of princes, with the proſpect of ſtability and happineſs to the Britiſh empire.

Origin of the Vandals.

THE Vandals, more eager to perform than to record great actions, long laboured under the ignorance of letters *; which was greatly increaſed by their frequent migrations and deſtructive

* Vandalorum ab origine antiquiſſimam, & nunc totius Europæ latiſſimam gentem, a primis incunabulis recenſere difficillimum & prope impoſſibile arbitror, quod in ea gente diu nullæ literæ, quibus antiquitatum memoria ſervaretur, viguerunt: annales nullos aut codices proferunt. Crantz. in Vand. Præf. I am not ignorant that ſome modern writers pretend that the Runcæ, a kind of coarſe character, partly Roman and partly Greek, were of a very ancient date among the German nations, even before their intercourſe with the Romans. But there ſeems to be no ſufficient authority for this opinion: ſince Venantius, who lived in the 5th century, is the firſt we know of that takes any notice of theſe characters. Be that as it may, Crantzius is certainly in the right, when he ſays, that there are no annals or hiſtorical monuments of the Vandals now extant. As to the Runic letters they were ſo called either from the Gothic word Ren, denoting a furrow, or from Ryne, ſignifying art, eſpecially that of magic; for they are ſaid to have been uſed by the Goths very much in their ſpells and inchantments: and hence it is that they were condemned in Spain; and laid aſide by the Swedes, when the latter embraced Chriſtianity.

wars

wars with the Romans. Hence it is that they are ſcarcely known but in the annals of their proud enemies, by whom they were ever treated with the contemptuous appellation of barbarians. By the accounts of the Roman hiſtorians it plainly appears, that they were a tribe of the Suevi in Germany; that they inhabited the ſouthern coaſt of the Baltick, and poſſeſſed the whole country between the Elbe and the Viſtula. Their name is of uncertain etymology; by ſome they are ſaid to have derived it from Vandalus, a king mentioned by the authors of the middle ages: according to others they were ſo called from the old German word Van, ſignifying a moraſs; as the Finlanders took that denomination from the fens, in the neighbourhood of which they had fixed their reſidence. But in all probability their name was borrowed from the German word Wandeln, to wander; for the Suevi did not aſſume the appellation of Vandals till they had greatly multiplied in their own country, and been obliged to ſpread themſelves to diſtant provinces for want of ſubſiſtence. Before thoſe migrations the inhabitants of each diſtrict were particularly named from the town or tribe they belonged to, and they all formed one and the ſame nation with the Teutones and the Cimbri.

AMONG theſe tribes were reckoned the Heruli, who reſided partly in the country of Mecklenburg, and partly in the marche of Brandenburg, and to whom the town of Werle or Herula in the former, and that of Perleberg or Werlebeg in the latter, are indebted for their reſpective names. Near the Heruli or Werli lived alſo ſeveral other tribes, as the Langobardi and the Semnones in the marche of Brandenburg; the Varini, Angli, Endoſes, Suardones, and Nuithones, in the country of Mecklenburg; the Carini, Rugii, Gothones, and Burgundiones, in Pomerania and Pruſſia; who, with ſeveral others, are all by Cluverius comprized in the common appellation of Vandals or Winnuli, and theſe are mentioned among the Suevi. Pliny is of the ſame opinion, as he ranks the Vandali or Vindili, the Ingævones, the Iſtævones, the Hermiones, and the Peucini, among the chief nations of Germany; and to the former he adds the Varini,

Carini, Burgundiones, and Gothones. Tacitus gives much the ſame account.

WHETHER the Vandals derived their origin from the Goths in Scandinavia, or the latter theirs from Germany, is impoſſible to affirm with any certainty at this diſtance of time, as there is no foundation for either opinion in ancient writers. But it is highly probable that Scandinavia was not inhabited till Germany ſo abounded with people, that they were obliged to remove to thoſe countries, in which they had refuſed to ſettle at firſt, by reaſon of the ſterility of the ſoil, and coldneſs of the climate. This is the ſentiment of Cluverius, who is however ſtrongly oppoſed by Grotius. But it would be as difficult to decide by what rout, and under whoſe conduct the Vandals firſt came into that country, as to determine from which of the ſons of Noah they were lineally deſcended. We ſhall therefore wave theſe idle conjectures in regard to their deſcent, and proceed directly to a deſcription of their cuſtoms and manners.

Cuſtoms and manners of the Vandals.

SINCE the Vandals were certainly a tribe of the Teutonic nation, they muſt have had the ſame language, manners, and religion, as the other natives of Germany: ſo that whatever Tacitus affirms in favour of or againſt that nation in general is applicable to this particular tribe; except that as the Vandals inhabited the maritime coaſts, they are ſuppoſed to have been better acquainted with trade and navigation, and to have dwelt more within cities and walled towns than the other Germans *. They were remarkable for the largeneſs of their ſize, and the fairneſs of their complexion, with light yellow hair, and blue eyes. They were inured to hardſhip and coarſe diet, which with nouriſhing liquors, and conſtant exerciſe, greatly contributed to their bodily ſtrength. Their ſpirits were not exhauſted by ſpeculative ſtudies, nor were they enervated by early debaucheries, but intirely employed in manly exerciſe. As they never inter-

* The Germans in general had a contempt for walled towns, looking upon them as marks of weakneſs and ſervitude; and it was a ſaying with them, that even the wild beaſts, if penned up, would degenerate and loſe their animal courage.

married

married with foreigners, they tranſmitted their qualities unmixed and uncorrupted to their poſterity. Their virtues are ſaid to have been for the moſt part of the negative kind, that is, they conſiſted in a total ignorance of vice. Yet they were remarkable for their extraordinary fidelity, and for ſincerity in friendſhip, as well as for their great hoſpitality. Their genius was turned chiefly to war and hunting; and if ever they broke out into inteſtine broils and inſurrections, it was not ſo much owing to any inſtability of mind, as to their conſtant love of liberty. From the coldneſs of their climate they were enabled to bear more liquor than the inhabitants of warmer countries; and this they often indulged to exceſs. In other reſpects their deſires were confined to the bare neceſſaries of life: even their apparel at firſt was no more than what nature required; their nakedneſs they covered with the ſkins of thoſe beaſts which ſerved them for ſuſtenance. Their trade conſiſted in barter, or an exchange of commodities, till they learned the uſe of money of the Greeks and Romans. It was their cuſtom not to marry young, and to eſpouſe but one wife, to whom they obſerved the ſtricteſt fidelity. The women ſhared with their huſbands, not only in domeſtic cares, but in military toils. War being the chief ſtudy of their lives, cowardice was deemed the greateſt diſhonour. All who could bear arms were obliged to take the field, which enabled them to raiſe ſuch numerous armies. Their greateſt ſtrength conſiſted in their infantry, yet their cavalry was not ill diſciplined. They uſed neither ſaddles nor ſtirrups, and were accuſtomed, if neceſſary, to diſmount and fight on foot. The arms for the cavalry were a ſhield and ſpear to each man: the infantry had alſo darts, bows, and ſlings; but they very ſeldom had recourſe to their pikes and ſwords. They rarely made uſe of coats of mail, or even helmets; and when they did, it was cuſtomary to put the horns or heads of wild beaſts upon them, ſuch as we meet with on the ſeals and arms of ancient times. Their ſhields were eſteemed ſacred among them, and their arms were their favourite furniture *.

* Cæſar. Tacit. Amm. Marcell. Maſcow.

Language, THE language of the Vandals was the Teutonic, as appears from the names of their kings and different leaders. They ſeem to have been very little acquainted with moſt of the arts and learning, ſciences, if we except ſhip-building and navigation. Their learning amounted to little more than poetry and muſic, and thoſe in a very rude and imperfect ſtate. Their literati were their bards, who committed the famous deeds of their heroes to verſe, and ſung thoſe hymns on public ſolemnities. Their knowledge of phyſic was reduced to empyriciſm, and their aſtronomy to their obſervations on the lunar changes, by which they pretended to foretel future events. Among their learned profeſſors we may confidently reckon the druids *, and other perſons deſigned for prieſtly office. Their religion ſeems to have retained more of the ſimplicity of the firſt natural worſhip than of the Greek and Roman ſuperſtition. They believed two important truths, a Divine Providence, and the immortality of the ſoul; but were greatly addicted to augury. Senſible of the folly of repreſenting the deity by an image, they performed their religious rites not in temples of ſumptuous architecture, but in the quiet retirement of groves, without any corporeal repreſentation. Hence it is that there are ſtill ſo many places in the duchy of Mecklenburg, which derive their name from Hagen or Hain, ſignifying a grove or incloſure. One of their ancient deities was the goddeſs Hertha, or the earth, whoſe idol was kept upon a covered cart, in a wood or grove †, by the Romans called Caſtum Nemus. The worſhip paid to this goddeſs Hertha, is to be imputed to an error, whereby the

and religion of the ancient Vandals.

* Cæſar ſays the Germans had no druids: but Tacitus, who was better acquainted with that nation, makes frequent mention of their prieſts, who perhaps did not follow the doctrine of the druids.

† Tacitus ſays this grove was in an iſland of the ocean; which ſome ſuppoſe to be Helgeland at the mouth of the Elbe; and others, with greater probability, to be the iſle of Rugen: for in a part of this iſland called Jaſmund, and at the promontory of Stubenhammer, there is ſtill a grove to be ſeen, with the ruins of a very old building, which Micraelius and Cluverius apprehend to have been the temple of Hertha. If ſo, the Germans in proceſs of time muſt have alſo erected temples to their deities, as we read of that of Tanfana in Tacitus.

Creator

Creator and the creatures were confounded together, which laid the firſt foundation of idolatry. This worſhip correſponded to that paid by the Romans to the Mater Magna Deorum. Next to the Deity they revered the memory of their heroes and heroines, by ſinging hymns in praiſe of their great exploits, which in proceſs of time procured them the honour of ſacrifices and altars. In this reſpect, however, their religion was more rational than that of the Greeks and Romans, who repreſented their deities as guilty of all human imperfections; whereas the Teutonic nations celebrated the memory of their heroes for their military virtues.

THE Vandals muſt have proceeded in their religious rites by a ſlower gradation than the other Teutonic tribes, who being ſettled near the territories of the empire, were the more eaſily induced to borrow every thing of Roman origin. Hence Herman or Irmenſaul had been raiſed to divine honours, before Rhadegaſt, a Vandalic prince, became dignified with this title. The particular objects of their worſhip, and the rites and ceremonies with which it was performed, are foreign to our preſent purpoſe. We muſt therefore refer the reader to thoſe who have wrote profeſſedly on the ſubject, and on the religion of the ancient Germans. But if we may be permitted to offer a conjecture upon this ſubject, it ſeems highly probable that the Vandals worſhipped the ſame deities as their ſucceſſors the Venedi, ſuch as Prowe, Siva, Triglaff, Schwantewit, and the like. That the Venedi learned the worſhip of Rhadegaſt from the Vandals is beyond all doubt; and there is the ſame reaſon for their adopting the other deities: for in moſt countries it has been obſerved that new colonies are apt to embrace the religion of the ancient inhabitants. The places where theſe deities were worſhipped, at leaſt at the time of the Venedi, were, Mecklenburg, Rhetre, and Gadebuſch, for Rhadegaſt; Ratzeburg for Siva; Oldenburg for Prowe; Brandenburg for Triglaff; and Rugen for Schwantewit *. The gods Zernebog and Belbog had no images, but were equally

* Of theſe we ſhall give a more particular account in the next book.

honoured

honoured by all. Whether theſe deities came from the Romans, and Siva for inſtance was the Venus of that nation, we have not time to enquire: this opinion is probably founded on the old cuſtom of deriving the German idols from thoſe of Greece and Rome, as adding a dignity to their worſhip. Be that as it may, it is moſt likely that Siva is derived from Symbulla, the fabulous wife of Anthyrius, or from ſome other Vandalic heroine *.

Government of the Vandals.

THE form of government of the ancient Germans, and conſequently of the Vandals, is difficult to aſcertain. The Roman hiſtorians however inform us, that all the barbarous nations had their kings. But whoever will conſider the ſtrong attachment the Germans had to liberty, will be inclined to think that they lived under a mixed government, partly democratical, and partly ariſtocratical.

THE Germans were certainly a free people, and had no ſlaves or vaſſals, but thoſe who were taken in war, or loſt their freedom by gaming, to which they were exceſſively addicted; theſe, however, were ſoon after capable of being called laſſen, or freedmen. If any diſpute aroſe in families, it was ſubmitted to the deciſion of the oldeſt or the moſt reſpectable of the tribe, who, on account of his age or ſeniority, was called Grau; from whence, by corruption, came the name of Graaf or Count.

Graaf.

The office of a judge was held in ſuch eſteem among them, as to be generally conferred on perſons of the higheſt rank. In foreign war they choſe a leader from amongſt their own body, one moſt eſteemed for his courage and bravery: him they called a Heerzog or Hertzog, i. e. a leader of an army. But theſe held their poſts no longer than the diſputes or wars continued, and during that time they were called the Vorſten or Furſten, that is, Princes. The ſons and poſterity of theſe princes were diſtinguiſhed by the name of Edelinger or Edle, that is, Nobles. If the father and ſon had been often inveſted with theſe dignities, they imagined that the grand-children and great-

Hertzog.

* See Maſius Antiq. Meckl. and Elias Schedius de Diis Germanicis.

grand-children

grand-children would not degenerate from their anceſtors; and accordingly they elected them to the ſupreme command. This gave occaſion to the preference or pre-eminence of families; and the poſterity of Counts and Dukes (or Grafen and Hertzog) called Edelinge, were poſſeſſed of more conſideration and eſteem than the common Freylinger or Freemen. From ſuch conſideration or authority it came to paſs, that in the chooſing of their princes they did not eaſily depart from that particular family, who thereby acquired a kind of right (jus quæſitum) to the inheritance or ſucceſſion of a poſt or office. This gradually gave riſe to an ariſtocracy, as ſcarce any were elected to the ſupreme command but the ſon of a Graaf or Hertzog. Theſe were poſſeſſed of very great power, ſince every body was obliged to ſubmit to their deciſions, unleſs they happened to be manifeſtly contrary to juſtice, or to the public welfare. Still the people retained a conſiderable ſhare of power or authority; and of this there are ſaid to be remarkable inſtances, particularly of Hertzogs put to death by the armies for their bad adminiſtation. If the people whom the duke led out to war were very numerous, or one perſon had the command over ſeveral tribes or clans, the commander then had the title of King, eſpecially after the Chriſtian æra; or was ſtiled ſuch by the enemy, particularly by the Romans. But he did not enjoy that title or power longer than the war continued. Hence we are apt to believe that the kings of the Vandals can be conſidered no otherwiſe in the beginning than as the choſen heads of the nation, whoſe right or authority originally was no greater than that of the reſt of their countrymen; though by the choice of the people they became Graafs in time of peace, and in the field Hertzogs or Koningen. And it is not at all unlikely that the firſt (Furſt) Prince had deſerved ſo well of the people, that in the ſubſequent elections they gave a preference to his family *.

* This account is grounded in Cæſar and Tacitus, as alſo in Helmoldus, Crantzius, and ſeveral others. See alſo Beehr and Bunau.

The government at first was a democracy.

IT is therefore moſt probable that the government which at firſt obtained among the ſeveral tribes of the Germans was a democracy. So long as they were not confined in their own country, but had ſufficient ſpace for hunting and grazing, they had no deſire or ambition to invade their neighbours, or to go in ſearch of other lands or habitations. In the beginning every pagus (gau) or village was a ſeparate tribe, quite independent of the reſt; though in regard to foreign powers or ſtates, they ſeem to have formed one joint body, for their mutual defence. It may be preſumed that from the firſt pagus of the Heruli aroſe more colonies than from any other, ſince they are ſaid to have ſpread from Werle, not far from Guſtrow, ſouthward as far as Brandenburg. Their diſputes with one another during this period were referred, as we have already obſerved, to the determination of one of their graafs or elders; and in their wars which were only between tribe and tribe, village and village, they choſe ſometimes one and ſometimes another Hertzog or general, who perhaps had no incentive of ambition to deſire a long or frequent exerciſe of power; but as ſoon as he had avenged the injury, returned again to his flock and herds, or to his favourite chace. Hence it is that in thoſe times we meet with few accounts of any German princes, and none of the Vandals, except thoſe of dubious authority, mentioned by modern writers. For the Germans acknowledge they have long ſince forgot the ſongs of their ancient bards; and it is great pity that the old collection of thoſe ballads, made by order of Charles the Great, has been loſt by the injury of time *.

The democracy mixed with ariſtocracy.

BUT when the ſons of the Graafs and Hertzogs began to partake of the authority and reputation of their parents, and thoſe offices, by long continuance, were increaſed in duration and advantages; by degrees a kind of ariſtocracy began to be mixed with the democracy. This adminiſtration prevailed a little before and after the birth of Chriſt, and comprehended a ſpace of

* See Count Bunau, part I. b. 1. and Beehr, b. I. c. 1.

about

about 600 or 800 years. For it may reaſonably be conjectured, that when thoſe people began to multiply and extend their frontiers, they had more domeſtic quarrels, and were more frequently involved in war with their neighbours; ſo that, as their numbers increaſed, they had often occaſion to chuſe their Graafs and Hertzogs: but this frequent election being productive of ſome confuſion, theſe offices began to be conferred on them for a certain time, if not for life. The latter appears to be more conſiſtent with the ſincerity of the Germans, who were not ſo jealous of their furſten or rulers, and indeed had no ſuch reaſon to miſtruſt them as the Greeks and Romans. It may be preſumed that about this time the united tribes of the Vandals, when they had any wars or quarrels with potent nations, as with the Cimbri and Saxons, conferred the name of King upon their chief or Hertzog: and ſince the Hertzogs were choſen from among the Graafs, it may be ſuppoſed that both theſe dignities were inveſted in the ſame perſon; ſo that he who commanded the armies againſt a foreign enemy, had likewiſe the deciſion of domeſtic diſputes or cauſes. Thus in the ſame office or dignity the ſon ſucceeded the father, or even brothers or couſins ſucceeded each other, not by hereditary right, but by the free choice of the people; to obtain which they endeavoured to diſtinguiſh themſelves by ſignal exploits. Hence it is that in this period we hear of ſeveral men of renown, both in the civil and military adminiſtration. And theſe are the princes and kings mentioned in the firſt genealogical table, of whom we intend to give ſome account in this hiſtory *.

* See C. Bunau, Buckholtz.

CHAP. II.

Of the KINGS of the VANDALS, from Anthyrius I. in the year 323 before Chriſt, to the diviſion of that Kingdom under Corſico and Godegeſilus, in the year of Chriſt 407.

Adventures of Anthyrius. Other accounts of the Vandals. Remarks on the ſtory of Anthyrius and Symbulla. Cities founded by Anthyrius. Whence their names are derived. The arms of Mecklenburg. Wars of the Teutones and Cimbri. War between the Danes and Vandals. Wars between the Vandals and the Romans. Wars between the Vandals and the Danes. Expedition and misfortune of Radegaſtus.

ANTHYRIUS I.

The Firſt KING of the VANDALS.

Year before Chriſt 323.

THE firſt prince or leader mentioned in the hiſtory of the Vandals is Anthur or Anthyrius I. That he was a warrior of great renown, we cannot affirm with any certainty: but if we may depend on the accounts which make him the founder of the cities of Mecklenburg, Butzow, Werle, Rhene, Kiſſin, (now Roſtock) and Stargard, he muſt rather have endeavoured to ſignalize his name by the arts of peace. His reign is ſuppoſed to have been at the time of Alexander the Great; which may have given riſe to the following tale of Anthyrius and Symbulla.

Anthyrius's adventures.

THE populous country of Scandinavia had been overwhelmed, long before the Trojan war, by an inundation, which obliged great numbers of the inhabitants to deſert their native ſoil, in ſearch of new ſettlements. Among the reſt were the Vandals and the Heruli, who puſhed on their diſcoveries towards the eaſt, till at length they fixed their reſidence on the banks of the Palus Mœotis. Here they continued till Alexander the

the Great began his expedition againſt the Perſians, when they acted as auxiliaries to that prince; and Anthyrius, a captain or leader of their nation, fought in perſon under the banners of the Macedonian conqueror. Among other exploits, he recovered the famous horſe Bucephalus out of the hands of the barbarians, and reſtored him to his maſter. So greatly was Alexander pleaſed with this inſtance of valour, that he loaded him with preſents; and to prevent the memory of the exploit from being loſt, he ordered Anthyrius to have the head of Bucephalus painted on his ſhield. But upon the death of that hero, which happened in 323 before Chriſt, Anthyrius diſcontented at ſeeing himſelf neglected, and deprived of his due ſhare of Alexander's conqueſts, determined to go in ſearch of new adventures. In this expedition he had the pleaſure of being accompanied by prince Baruan, for whom he had conceived the ſtrongeſt regard, and whoſe father was ſovereign of the iſle of Gothland: he was alſo attended by a few ſoldiers, who were reſolved to encounter all dangers in defence of their favourite commander. After a long and perilous navigation, they landed in the above-mentioned iſland, where the king received his ſon with extreme joy, and behaved to Anthyrius with the utmoſt benevolence and generoſity. But as a ſtate of ſubjection no-way ſuited the ambition of this commander, and he had been informed that at a ſmall diſtance from thence there was a nation of the Vandals or Heruli, from whom thoſe on the Palus Mœotis were deſcended, he croſſed over to that country; where he met with a kind reception, and ingratiated himſelf in ſuch a manner with the people, that they thought proper to raiſe him to the regal dignity.

AFTER he was ſettled upon the throne, he ſeemed willing to indulge a paſſion which he had conceived at the king of Gothland's court, for the daughter of that monarch, a princeſs of exquiſite beauty and rare accompliſhments, the incomparable Symbulla: he therefore aſked her in marriage, and was ſucceſsful in his ſuit. This princeſs muſt have been as greatly beloved by her ſubjects as by Anthyrius; for after her deceaſe they

ranked her among their deities by the name of Siva; and the ſeat of worſhip was at the town of Ratzeburg. As the ſoldiers who attended Anthyrius wore party-coloured habits, from thence came the name of Obotrites, which was afterwards extended to the whole nation; and as he had cauſed the head of Bucephalus * to be painted on the pavilion of the veſſel in which he embarked for Gothland, and as on his own ſhield he had a griffin in an azure field, hence it was that theſe came to be afterwards the arms of Mecklenburg.

Other accounts of the Vandals.

THIS pleaſant tale being unſupported by ancient authority, meets at preſent with little or no credit. Who was the firſt inventor of it is very uncertain: Crantzius takes no notice of it; neither is it mentioned by the Daniſh and other writers, who have given us ſome accounts of the ancient Vandals, which appear at leaſt as fabulous as the ſtory of Anthyrius and Symbulla. They pretend to trace the ſettling of the Vandals in this country ſo early as the grandſons of Noah, not long after the deluge. They tell us, that from the family of Aſkenaſis, the grandſon of Japhet, was deſcended a prince named Suevus, who reigned lord of all the Baltick from the Elbe to the northern extremity of Europe; and that his ſon Vandalus took to his ſhare the country ſituated between the Trave and the Viſtula, and gave his name to the firſt inhabitants. They further relate, that Scalcus, a king of the Vandals, waged an unſucceſsful war againſt Helgo king of Denmark, who is ſaid to have reigned about the year 600 before Chriſt. They alſo take notice of a war between the Vandals and king Roric, who aſcended the Daniſh throne in the year 483 of the Chriſtian æra. Scarce had this prince, it is ſaid, aſſumed the reins of government, when Courland, Sweden, and Vandalia, which had been ſubdued by king Helgo, took up arms to aſſert their independency. Roric finding himſelf unable to withſtand ſo many enemies at once, diſſembled his reſentment. The Vandals equipped a fleet, which was attacked

* Some accounts mention, that the veſſel on board which he embarked had a griffin painted on the prow, and an ox's head on the ſtern.

and

and defeated by the Daniſh monarch. Upon which, a Vandal, ſuperior in ſtrength and ſtature to the reſt of his countrymen, offered, in the name of his ſovereign, to engage any Dane in ſingle combat, in order to decide the quarrel between the two nations. The ſucceſs of this combat was of immenſe conſequence to the Vandals, as the liberty of their country was to be determined by the victory of their champion. The Vandal eaſily triumphed over the firſt antagoniſt who entered the liſts with him; but Ubbo, one of the principal officers of the Daniſh army, accepting a ſecond challenge from this doughty champion, brought him to the ground, and Vandalia became once more tributary to Denmark. This has evidently the air of a fable; as it can hardly be ſuppoſed that the Vandals would ſuffer their champion to hazard the regained liberty of their country on the ſucceſs of a ſecond combat. Beſides the ſtory is taken from Saxo Grammaticus, whoſe hiſtory, at leaſt the earlieſt part of it, is compiled from old ſongs and fabulous legends.

But to return to Anthyrius, thoſe who would fain eſtabliſh the antiquity of their nation by forced etymologies, affirm, that this prince called the city of Mecklenburg by the Greek name of Megapolis, and the town of Butzow by that of Bucephalea. They likewiſe pretend, that the appellation of Obotrites * was given to the ſoldiers whom he brought with him out of Aſia, from the coſtly and party-coloured garments which they received from Alexander, in the ſame manner as the Argyraſpides. But not to mention that the word Obotrites bears no ſuch ſignification in the Greek language, it is very certain that theſe people who in the annals of the Franks are frequently

* Marſhal, from whom the hiſtorians of Mecklenburg ſeem to have all borrowed the ſtory of Symbulla, derives the word Obotrites from ὠδὴ and τρῆτος, which he interprets a party-coloured troop; whereas it ſhould be tranſlated tribus perforata, which is mere nonſenſe; and party-coloured cannot come from perforata. Abraham Frencellius conjectures it to be a Sclavonian word, from the compound verb obtriti, to clean; from whence Obetritus, according to this writer, denotes a clean or neat people; either from the civility of their manners, or their diligence in cultivating the country.

quently called by the name of Abotrites, were never taken notice of in hiſtory before the time of Charlemain, and that they are neither of Greek nor Vandalic, but of Venedic original. Hence it is that ſome, with great probability, derive them from the Obdorites in Muſcovy, ſituated on the river Oby, in the neighbourhood of Siberia *.

Remarks on the ſtory of Anthyrius and Symbulla.

And here it may be obſerved, that it was the common practice for the writers of the middle ages to trace the origin of almoſt every nation to Leda's egg, the deſtruction of Troy, the labours of Hercules, or the wanderings of Ulyſſes. Thus Geoffry of Monmouth invented the ſtory of Brutus, a grandſon of Æneas, and a colony of Trojans, ſettling in Britain. In like manner Fredegarius and Aimonius derive the French nation from one Friga and another colony of Trojans. Witekind alſo makes the Saxon Aborigines to have been the remains of the Macedonian army which Alexander the Great conducted into Aſia: yet ſo fabulous an original has been adopted by many other writers; and ſome of them have given a minute account of the migration of thoſe Macedonians into Saxony. This appears to have been the ſource from whence Marſhal drew his entertaining novel of Anthyrius and Symbulla. In regard to which fiction, an ingenious modern obſerves †, "that if any family in Germany may be allowed to conſecrate its original, by tracing it up to the heroic times, miſcendo humana divinis, this indulgence is particularly owing to the ſerene princes of Mecklenburg, for the many great actions performed by their noble anceſtors. This illuſtrious houſe is certainly of royal extraction; but whether of German or Sarmatian deſcent, is impoſſible at this diſtance of time to aſcertain; its ſource being concealed in the intricate mazes of antiquity. It is a family that has given martyrs to heaven; prelates of virtue and eminence to the German ſees; ſovereigns to the northern crowns; conſorts renowned for virtue, beauty, and good ſenſe, to ſeveral European kings; and to the duchy of

* Saxo Grammaticus, Crantzius, Marſhal, Kluver, & Frank. † Beehr.

Mecklenburg

Mecklenburg a long ſucceſſion of princes, who, behaving like the true fathers of their country, have, by their fortitude and great prudence, preſerved their independence, and tranſmitted it intire to their poſterity. Such a family, inſtead of having any need to embelliſh their original by a fabulous deſcent from a ſubordinate commander in Alexander's army, would reflect a luſtre on the great Macedonian hero himſelf, were he to be ranked amongſt their progenitors."

Whence the names of theſe cities are derived.

NEGLECTING, therefore, all Greek and fabulous derivations, we are rather of opinion, that the town of Mecklenburg was ſo called from the old word Mecklen, viz. to trade; as the town of Mechlin in Brabant appears to have derived its name from the ſame origin; and this word is ſtill uſed in that ſignification in the North Sea, and in the towns of the Hanſeatic alliance. Anthyrius, therefore, muſt have built the city of Mecklenburg (if he really was the founder of it) as a place of trade and reſort for foreign merchants. With regard to this prince himſelf, the Germans call him Anthur, a name which ſeems to be derived from the Teutonic god Thur or Thor. The etymologies of the other towns, Werle, Butzow, Stargard, &c. are not ſo eaſily explained, the old language of the Venedi being loſt: yet, if upon a ſubject of this kind we may hazard a few conjectures, we ſhall obſerve, that Werle bears a near affinity to the Dutch word Werelt, which ſignifies World; and that ſuch a name might have been properly applied to this city, on account of its great extent, or of the diets and aſſemblies held in this place, for which its ſituation was extremely convenient. Stargard * ſignifies an old town, or, according to ſome, an old place †; for the term Gart has been taken in the latter ſenſe, which appears from the many towns in that termination, as Naugart, Belgart, &c. Butzow may have been ſo denominated from its paſture, famous for a number of oxen; owe or gowe in the old Teutonic language denoting a meadow, and buffel turned into butz an ox or buffalo. Hence we are en-

* Hubner. † Buckholtz.

abled

The arms of Mecklenburg.

abled to explain the origin of the arms of Mecklenburg, which ſome inventive heads have lately deduced from Alexander's Bucephalus. For notwithſtanding thoſe arms may not be ſo ancient as the time of Anthyrius, yet it is poſſible that the country of the Vandals being famous for paſturage, in which their chief wealth and ſubſtance conſiſted, as the other Germans aſſumed different ſigns or arms, the Vandalic tribe choſe an ox's head for their emblem. To corroborate this conjecture, it may be obſerved, that in the camp of the Teutones, who muſt have been the ſame people as the Vandals, the Romans among the plunder took a brazen bull, which with good grounds they looked upon as an idol of that nation, as appears from Plutarch in the life of Marius. Thus the ox or buffalo's head in the Vandalic arms, ſeems to bear an analogy to the horſe in the old Saxon arms, as that country was then and ſtill is famous for horſes. The griffin certainly comes from the Venedi, and is borrowed from the arms of Pomerania and Wenden. Some pretend it is taken from the Goths; but this is not at all probable, ſince there is no griffin but a war-horſe on the Gothic coins *.

ACCORDING to Chemnitz, and other modern writers, Anthyrius had ten ſons by his wife Symbulla, viz. Anavas, Sicher, Anthur, Borram, Domich, Brandobard, Freſebald, Wiſebert, Tenerich, and Radegaſt †.

* Count Bunau.

† Marſhal, Bacmeiſter, Kluver, Hubner; and in regard to the arms of Mecklenburg, Spener, opus Herald. The arms of the preſent dukes of Mecklenburg have been deſcribed in the Introduction to this work, and their derivation from the idol Radegaſt may be ſeen in Maſius Antiq. Meckl.

II. ANAVAS,

II. ANAVAS,

The Second KING of the VANDALS.

OF the ſons of Anthyrius two are worthy of notice, Sichar and Anavas. The former is ſaid to have undertaken an expedition to Finland, where he attained the ſovereignty of that country. The latter ſucceeded his father in the government of the Vandals, and eſpouſed Orithia, daughter of the king of Sarmatia. But of the other brothers nothing is mentioned *.

From 323 to 111 before Chriſt.

III. ALIMER,

The Third KING of the VANDALS.

ANAVAS was ſucceeded by his ſon Alimer, who lived in the year 111 before Chriſt, when the Cimbri and the Teutones invaded Italy. It is not at all improbable † that the Vandals were alſo concerned in this expedition, ſince the name of Teutones comprehended all the northern Germans; and hence it is that ſome modern hiſtorians make Alimer a warlike prince. Some have conjectured that this Alimer was the ſame with Teutoboch king of the Teutones, ſo famous in the Roman hiſtory. The nations reſiding at that time on the Baltic were called by the Romans neither Vandals nor Heruli, but by the common appellation of Teutones or Cimbri. In the camp of this nation the conſul Catulus found the brazen bull or ox, which, in all probability, was conſecrated to their religious worſhip. Tacitus informs us, that the Germans made uſe of the like inſignia on their ſtandards or colours, which were taken from

War of the Teutones and the Cimbri.

* See Marſhal, Kluver, &c.

† Schurtzfleiſch de rebus Slavicis.

brute animals. And is it not very natural that the Vandals, whoſe enſigns were the ſame as thoſe of the other Germans, ſhould by the Romans be confounded under the general name of Teutones?

IV. ANTHYRIUS II.

The Fourth KING of the VANDALS.

From 111 before Chriſt to 91 after Chriſt.

ALIMER left two ſons behind him, Anthyrius II. who ſucceeded in the kingdom of the Vandals; and Rugiland, who is ſaid to have been king of Rugen. This principality he obtained by means of his mother Ida, who was the daughter of the king of Rugen; on which account this tribe choſe her ſon for their king or leader, yet ſubject to the authority or juriſdiction of the ſupreme governor or ruler of the whole Vandalic nation. This ruler was his elder brother Anthyrius II. who is ſaid to have married Marina, a daughter of the king of Denmark *.

V. HOTER or HOTERUS,

The Fifth KING of the VANDALS.

War between Denmark and Vandalia.

HOTER ſucceeded his father Anthyrius II. in the kingdom of the Vandals. This prince is ſuppoſed to be the ſame whom Saxo Grammaticus diſtinguiſhes by the name of Strunicus. In regard to the tranſactions of his reign, we know no more of them than what is mentioned by the Daniſh hiſtorians. By theſe we are informed, that Hoter, impatient of the Daniſh yoke, equipped a great fleet, with which he made a deſcent on the coaſt of Jutland. This is ſaid to have happened in the

* Marſhal, Kluver.

reign

reign of Frotho III. king of Denmark, whoſe prime miniſter and general, Eric the Norwegian, aſſembled a body of forces, and repulſed the Vandals with great ſlaughter. Eric not content with this ſucceſs, prevailed with the king to raiſe a numerous army, and to carry the war into the heart of Vandalia. Frotho having laid waſte the country with fire and ſword, was met at length by Hoter with a much inferior force; and an engagement enſuing, the Vandals were intirely defeated. Hoter himſelf periſhed in the general ſlaughter, and the whole country was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation. After this victory Frotho is ſaid to have committed many cruelties, and among the reſt to have put a great number of Vandalic ſailors to death, whom he had enticed into his ſervice by the promiſe of extraordinary rewards. Thus the country being overpowered, Frotho aſſumed the title of king of the Vandals, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity *.

THIS ſtory is alſo taken from that credulous writer Saxo Grammaticus, who produces no authority in ſupport of ſo extraordinary a revolution. The fleets and armies raiſed on this occaſion by the Daniſh monarch might be compared for numbers to thoſe of Xerxes; and yet no mention is made of ſo great an armament, and of ſo important a victory, by any of the Greek or Roman hiſtorians. We therefore think that very little credit is to be given to the above relation. To this king's reign, or to that of his father, we muſt refer the Suevian princes mentioned by Cæſar, namely, Naſua and Cimberius, who, as brothers-in-law to Arioviſtus, attended him in his expedition to Gaul with a body of auxiliary troops.

HOTER is ſaid to have lived till the year of Chriſt 35 †. In his reign flouriſhed the great hero Winus, a Vandalic prince or commander, from whom the Vinuli are ſaid to have taken their appellation. The Daniſh legends of thoſe times relate many of his exploits among the Curetes, the Sangalli, and the Sembi,

* Saxo. † According to Buckholtz our Saviour was born in the 34th year of Hoter's reign.

which he is ſaid to have performed in conjunction with the celebrated champions Starcather and Herves: but we do not think it conſiſtent with the dignity of our hiſtory to loſe time in retailing ſuch fabulous abſurdities * †.

VI. WISILAUS I.
VII. WITISLAUS I.
VIII. ALARIC,
IX. DIETERIC,
X. TENERIC,
XI. ALBERIC,

KINGS of the VANDALS.

From A. D. 35 to 292.

TO Hoter ſucceeded, in an uninterrupted ſeries from father to ſon, the above-mentioned kings, who were all of the line of the Aſdingi. With regard to thoſe princes themſelves, we know little more of them than their names, having ſcarce any account of the occurrences which happened in their reigns. Theſe all together form a period of 257 years; that is, to the

* Saxo Gram. Pontan. Beehr.

† The country of Vandalia is ſaid to have abounded at this time with a race of Amazons, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour in battle. One of theſe warlike virgins, named Wiſna, at the head of a conſiderable number of Amazons, entered into the ſervice of Harold I. king of Denmark, againſt Ringo king of Sweden. Harold committed the royal ſtandard to the gallant Wiſna, who defended it with ſuch intrepidity againſt Starcather the Great, as not to let go her hold, till her hand was cut off. But the martial courage of the Vandalic women is not perhaps altogether fabulous: for Dio, in his account of the Marcomannic war, obſerves, that there were women among the Germans, who were armed, and fought as valiantly as the men.

year

year of Chriſt 292. During this period the Vandals could not contain themſelves within their own boundaries, but often made incurſions not only upon the Daniſh territory, but likewiſe upon the frontiers of the Roman empire. A few particulars of their tranſactions with the Danes are mentioned by Saxo Grammaticus. We are told, that Denmark having been rent by inteſtine diviſions, after a long war with Sweden, in which the 167.
king himſelf was ſlain, Dieteric king of the Vandals was encouraged to aſſert the independency of his country. The Daniſh princes were too weak for ſome time to reſent this affront: but 261.
Harold III. having reſtored the dignity of that crown, Alberic king of the Vandals was obliged to ſubmit to the uſual tribute. This Harold III. is repreſented by Saxo as a moſt powerful prince, whoſe fleet extended like a bridge acroſs the Sound, and who had thirty thouſand noblemen in his army. He likewiſe was ſo fond of the Vandals, as to retain ſeveral of them in his ſervice. Among theſe two were celebrated for their martial exploits, and known by the names of Duke and Dallo. The former is ſaid to have made a deſcent on Britain; the other to have over-run Aquitaine, and laid the whole country waſte. But little credit is to be given to theſe early relations; we ſhall therefore proceed to the wars between the Vandals and the Romans, where we ſhall find ſuch accounts of both nations as are ſupported by hiſtorians of approved authority.

166. Wars between the Vandals and the Romans.

THE firſt irruption of the Vandals into the Roman provinces was in the reign of M. Aurelius and Lucius Verus, at the time when they joined the Marcomanni, the Quadi, Nariſci, and other German nations. This is repreſented as the moſt dangerous war in which the Romans ever engaged: it was occaſioned by the migration of ſome tribes from the northern parts to the ſouth-eaſt of Germany, where ſearching for new ſettlements, they created a general confuſion. The Vandals having been reinforced by the Marcomanni, penetrated into Pannonia; but Furius Victorinus, the præfectus prætorio, at-

attempting to put a ſtop to their ravages, was defeated and ſlain, and the whole province obliged to ſubmit to the invaders.

170. Here they continued to reſide till 170, when the emperor Marcus Aurelius ſet out for Germany, intending to carry on the war in perſon againſt the ſeveral enemies of the empire. This was a long and bloody war, in the courſe of which that celebrated emperor diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his prudence and valour; and the ſoldiers followed the example of their great leader. At length the Marcomanni and the Vandals were obliged to abandon Pannonia, and retire behind the Danube; in the paſſing of which river they were overtaken by the emperor, and received a ſignal defeat. The Roman medals of the years 171, 172, 173, contain ſeveral ſymbols of this prince's German victories; but this

173. over the Vandals ſeems to have been in 173. The year following M. Aurelius gained the famous victory over the Quadi, in conſequence of a ſudden ſhower of rain, by which the Roman ſoldiers were eaſed of their violent thirſt, and enabled to attack the enemy. The Pagans attributed this ſhower to Jupiter Pluvius; and the Chriſtians to the prayers of the twelfth legion, conſiſting wholly of Chriſtians, and ſurnamed Fulminatrix *. A peace being ſoon after concluded with the ſeveral German na-

176. tions, viz. the Marcomanni, the Quadi, the Vandals, &c. Marcus Aurelius returned through Greece to Italy, and this very year obtained a ſplendid triumph at Rome. A medal was ſtruck on this peace, with the reverſe, Pax Aug. Æterna. In memory of that emperor's exploits was erected that noble column, ſtill extant at Rome, on which were carved the arms, dwellings, aſſemblies, and battles of the Germans.

THE preceding war between the Romans and the Vandals is ſuppoſed to have happened in the reign of Alberic, the laſt in the above liſt of Vandalic princes. The Marcomanni were properly no more than the Vandals and Suevi ſettled on

* See Hermannus Witzius de legione Fulminatrice. † M. Aurel. vit. Dio.

the

the frontiers *; at leaſt we find that their king Catualda belonged to the tribe of the Gothones. In ſome modern hiſtorians † we meet with a liſt of the wives of the above-mentioned kings; but we cannot ſay that theſe accounts are to be depended upon, and it appears ſomewhat adventurous to pretend to give ſuch particulars of the domeſtic tranſactions of thoſe princes, when it is a work of much difficulty even to come at any knowledge of their perſons.

Soon after the late war the Vandals are ſuppoſed to have entered into an alliance with the Romans; for the quarrel with the Quadi being renewed under M. Aurelius, his ſon Commodus concluded a peace with thoſe people; by which, among other articles, they engaged not to commit any hoſtilities againſt the Vandals. Whether this agreement was exactly obſerved, we are not informed; but we find that in a ſhort time after this event, a war was kindled between the Vandals and the Marcomanni, two nations nearly allied, and that had hitherto lived in the ſtricteſt amity and friendſhip. Of the particulars of that quarrel we are not informed; but it appears to have been contrived by the emperor Caracalla, who boaſted of his great policy in fomenting civil broils between theſe two nations, and thereby diverting their arms, which might otherwiſe prove dangerous to the empire. This prince did not want ambition, but was deficient in courage; he would purchaſe peace, rather than owe it to the ſword: he was often obliged to pay conſiderable ſums to the German nations which dwelt on the borders of the Elbe and the North Sea, to prevent their infeſting the coaſts of Gaul and Britain. This is what occaſioned his ſetting the Marcomanni and Vandals at variance, which he probably effected by the means of corruption. Hence it appears that the inhabitants of this part of Germany were already famous for their knowledge in maritime affairs, in which they afterwards excelled all the reſt of Europe. Caracalla ſeems to have had

180.

215.

* See Count Bunau. † Marſhal & Chemnitz.

great

great confidence in the Germans; for his life-guard were of that nation, and he frequently wore a German habit *.

271. After the death of that emperor, we hear no more mention of theſe people, till the ſecond year of Aurelian's reign; when this prince being employed in a war againſt ſeveral Teutonic nations that had invaded Italy, the Vandals paſſed the Danube, and ravaged the frontiers of the empire. Aurelian having driven the Germans out of Italy, marched againſt the Vandals, who retired at his approach, but were overtaken before they could paſs the Danube. This brought on a general action, in which the emperor gained a complete victory, and obliged the enemy to ſue for peace. A treaty was accordingly concluded, upon terms not very ſevere to the vanquiſhed: they were allowed the liberty of trading in ſome particular towns on the Danube; and on the other hand, they engaged to furniſh the emperor with 2000 horſemen, and to deliver up the ſons of their two chief leaders, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, as hoſtages. Upon this occaſion the general of the Vandals ſhewed a moſt religious regard to the performance of the treaty: for being informed that 500 of his men had ſeparated from the main body of the army in ſearch of plunder, he ordered them to be cut in pieces, together with their leader. This general's name is no-where mentioned; but the ſtrictneſs of his diſcipline does honour to his memory. Upon the concluſion of the above treaty, Aurelian marched back, with the utmoſt expedition, into Italy, which was now attacked by the Juthungi †. The emperor ſoon expelled theſe invaders; and for his ſucceſſes againſt the German nations, he was ſurnamed, in ſome inſcriptions, Germanicus Maximus.

275. After the death of Aurelian, the affairs of the Romans were thrown into great confuſion; which gave an opportunity to the Vandals of forming new deſigns againſt the empire. Having concluded a treaty of alliance with the Lygii, Franks, and Burgundians, they paſſed the Rhine, and penetrated

* Dio. † A German nation, whoſe country bordered upon Rhætia.

into

into Gaul, making themſelves maſters of the greateſt part of that fruitful country. Here they continued almoſt two years, till the emperor Probus finding himſelf in quiet poſſeſſion of the purple, marched an army into Gaul, and drove the Germans again out of the Roman provinces. The Lygii were overcome in battle, and their prince Semno, together with his ſon, were made priſoners: but upon promiſing to reſtore the plunder they had taken, and to live in amity with the Romans, they were ſet at liberty. On this occaſion a medal was ſtruck, repreſenting the emperor in his military dreſs, with the two captive princes. Probus afterwards marched againſt the Vandals and Burgundians, who retired at the approach of the Romans, and croſſing the Rhine, encamped on the oppoſite banks of that river. The emperor's army being much inferior to that of the enemy, he formed a ſcheme of dividing their forces, in order to attack them to greater advantage. Fortune favoured him on this occaſion almoſt beyond his expectations: for the Vandals being provoked by the raillery of the Roman ſoldiers on the oppoſite banks, ſhewed themſelves ſo eager for battle, that they paſſed the river, and by their own temerity and imprudence contributed to the ſucceſs of the Romans. The emperor watching the opportunity, attacked them before they had all croſſed the river, or had time to form themſelves in order of battle. In this confuſion they were obliged to give way, and in the purſuit moſt of them were either killed or taken priſoners. The remainder of their army were obliged to ſue for peace, which was granted them, on condition of their returning all the priſoners and booty they had taken from the Romans. Something muſt have happened to prevent their performing this promiſe; however the emperor was ſo incenſed at their violation of the engagement, that he croſſed the Rhine, and attacking them in their retreat, put great numbers of them to the ſword, and took many priſoners, among whom was their leader Igillus. Part of the priſoners were ſent by the emperor to Britain, where they afterwards did great ſervice to the Romans, and are ſuppoſed to have ſettled in the neighbourhood of

Cambridge: from this colony the village of Vandleſbury is by ſome antiquarians conjectured to have derived its name. Be that as it may, the emperor is ſaid on this occaſion to have freed ſixty cities in Gaul, and to have driven the Germans beyond the Neckar.

PROBUS having ſecured the boundaries of the empire on the German ſide, took his way through Rhætia, and from thence proceeded to Illyricum. Here he repelled the Sarmatian nations who had paſſed the Danube; and marching into Aſia, he
279. concluded a treaty with the king of Perſia. In his return, obſerving the province of Thrace to be rendered almoſt deſolate by war and peſtilence, he allowed a great number of the Baſtarnæ, ſome ſay 100,000, to ſettle in that country. The ſame indulgence was granted to the Vandals, and other German nations, among whom the emperor had diſtributed a certain portion of lands. The Baſtarnæ are commended by the Roman hiſtorians for having conformed to their cuſtoms and manners; and by degrees they coaleſced into one nation with the other inhabitants of the country. But a very different character is given of the Vandals, who ſeizing the opportunity when the emperor's troops were employed in Egypt and Gaul againſt the uſurpers Saturninus and Proculus, invaded the empire, and are ſaid to have committed great ravages. But Probus having defeated the uſurpers, marched a very large army againſt the Vandals and other German invaders. The conſequence of this expedition was a ſeries of victories, the circumſtances of which are not mentioned in hiſtory: we only know that he obtained a triumph, and ſome medals were ſtruck on that joyful occaſion.

FROM this time hiſtorians are ſilent in regard to the Vandals, till the year 291, when a war broke out between them and the
291 Goths, with the particulars of which we are not acquainted. It ſeems that this war extended to other German nations dwelling between the Elbe, the Baltick, and the Danube, as far as the Black Sea. The Goths attacked the Burgundians, who finding themſelves overpowered, called the Alemanni to their aſſiſtance. At the ſame time the Thuringi, a Gothic nation, joined

by

by the Taifalæ, a branch of the ſame people, waged war againſt the Vandals, who were joined on this occaſion by the Gepidæ. Theſe wars muſt have greatly weakened thoſe nations, and for a conſiderable time prevented their committing any hoſtilities againſt the Romans *.

XII. WISIMAR,

The Twelfth KING of the VANDALS.

WISIMAR, the ſon and heir of Alberic, is known in hiſtory for his bad ſucceſs againſt the Goths, with whom the Vandals were ſtill at variance. The former were commanded by king Gerberich, a prince renowned for his military abilities. After a long conteſt, fortune declared itſelf in favour of the Goths; for the Vandal army, under king Wiſimar, was intirely defeated on the banks of the river Mœroz. Whether Wiſimar was taken priſoner, is not mentioned by Jornandes; but we are informed, that the remains of his army put themſelves under the protection of Conſtantine, who aſſigned lands to them in Pannonia. Here they continued forty years, without giving any diſturbance to the empire. A.D. 336.

THE preceding account of the tranſactions of king Wiſimar is taken from Jornandes; but we have further particulars of this prince's reign from Saxo Grammaticus, and the reſt of the Daniſh hiſtorians. By theſe we are informed, that in the reign of Siward I. king of Denmark, Othar king of Sweden ſent a deputation to that monarch to demand his ſiſter in marriage. Siward looking upon this alliance as a means of reſtoring harmony between two kingdoms which had been always at variance, complied with the propoſal, and Halland was the place appointed for ſolemnizing the nuptials. But the Swediſh monarch finding himſelf beſet by ruffians on the road to that place, broke off

Wars between the Vandals and Danes.

341.

* Zozimus, Vopiſcus.

the match; and ſuſpecting Siward to have been the author of that violence, he immediately declared war againſt Denmark. The two armies met on the confines of the ſpot appointed for a more friendly intercourſe, and an engagement enſuing, Siward was defeated, and obliged to retreat to Cimbria, now Jutland. The Swedes made themſelves maſters of Halland and Schonen, and their king carried off with him the princeſs of Denmark, to whom he was afterwards joined in wedlock.

THE Vandals, ever ready to ſeize a favourable opportunity of annoying the Danes, took advantage of this war between the two northern crowns, and invaded Cimbria, under the command of their king Iſmar or Wiſmar. They had laid the whole country waſte, when Siward, alarmed at the enemy's progreſs, led an army againſt them, and attacking them by ſurprize, obtained a complete victory. Not diſcouraged with this alloy of ill fortune, the Vandals made a ſecond irruption into Cimbria with a more powerful army, and defeated the Danes in their turn. Jarmeric, the ſon of Siward, and the two daughters of that unfortunate monarch, were taken priſoners: the former they cloſely confined, but ſold the two princeſſes by public ſale, and made themſelves maſters of all Cimbria. Siward's ſpirit however was not broke: he raiſed freſh forces, and led them againſt the Swedes in Schonen; but the governor of that province, whoſe name was Simon, made a gallant defence; and Siward at length was ſlain in a very obſtinate battle, in which the Swediſh general alſo periſhed.

THE kingdom of Denmark was now reduced to a moſt deplorable ſituation, being poſſeſſed of little more than the iſles of Zealand and Fionia, while the Vandals were maſters of Cimbria, and the Swedes of Schonen and Halland. But what proved ſtill a greater mortification to the Danes, Jarmeric, a moſt gallant prince, and the preſumptive heir of the crown, was in the hands of Wiſmar king of the Vandals. In this diſtreſs, Buthl, a weak prince, but brother to the late king, was placed on the throne, where he performed not one action either for his own glory, or the good of the monarchy. Jarmeric, after having undergone

a very

a very ſevere ſervitude, ſo as even to be obliged to till the ground with common ſlaves, was raiſed to ſome conſiderable employment *. Here he made himſelf known to king Wiſmar, and his great accompliſhments ſoon recommended him to that prince's favour. Still being conſidered in the light of a priſoner, and watched with great care, he determined to make his eſcape the firſt opportunity. This ſoon offered, by the death of king Wiſmar's brother, when, according to the cuſtom of the Vandals, that monarch had invited all the chief perſons of the kingdom to celebrate his brother's funeral by a feaſt at the houſe of the deceaſed. Jarmeric made his deſign known to a Daniſh youth named Gunno, the companion of his ſervitude. They contrived to make the guards drunk, ſlew the queen, rifled the palace, and fled towards Denmark. Here they were received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy; and Buthl, ſenſible of his inabilities for government, immediately reſigned the throne to his nephew.

JARMERIC being a warlike prince, reſolved to ſeek every occaſion of reſtoring the Daniſh monarchy to its ancient ſplendor. His firſt enterprize was againſt the Swedes, of whom he recovered all they had wreſted from Denmark. From thence he marched his victorious army into Cimbria, and drove the Vandals out of that country, which he reunited to his own kingdom. Not content with this ſucceſs, his reſentment led him to chaſtiſe that nation for the miſchiefs they had done both to himſelf and the kings his predeceſſors. With this deſign he marched a formidable army to the frontiers of Vandalia; and having defeated the troops that attempted to oppoſe his paſſage, he obliged the whole country to ſubmit to his government. On this occaſion he is ſaid to have committed a very extraordinary act of cruelty. In order to intimidate the inhabitants, he ordered forty of the principal perſons of the whole nation to be faſtened to gibbets, and as many wolves to be tied to them; ſo that the unhappy

* Some parts of this ſtory have a romantic air; which is the caſe of moſt of the hiſtory of Saxo Grammaticus before the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity in Denmark.

wretches

wretches were quickly devoured. This was the Daniſh puniſhment for robbers, and ſeems to intimate that they conſidered their enemy in that light.

The country of Vandalia having agreed to pay a yearly tribute to Denmark, Jarmeric led his army on to new conqueſts into the territories of the Sembi, the Curetes, and other nations on the Eaſt Sea. While his troops were engaged in this expedition, the Vandals availed themſelves of the opportunity to ſhake off the Daniſh yoke, and to equip a fleet *, with which they made a deſcent upon Denmark, and carried off a conſiderable booty. Jarmeric flew to the defence of his dominions, defeated the Vandalic fleet, puniſhed the chief authors of this war, and increaſed the tribute of the conquered nation. The cruelty of this prince in inflicting puniſhments is extremely ſhocking: he ordered leather thongs to be paſſed between the two bones of the legs of each of the ringleaders; by theſe they were tied to the feet of an equal number of bulls, who were driven into the mountains, and purſued by bull-dogs.

After theſe ſucceſſes, Jarmeric finding no enemy to oppoſe him, fell into intemperance and voluptuouſneſs, the uſual conſequence of wanton ſecurity. His cruelty had begun to render him odious, not only to the tributary nations, but to his own ſubjects. This alteration of conduct in the Daniſh monarch encouraged the Vandals to aſſert their independence, and to march an army into Cimbria. But Jarmeric being rouzed out of his lethargy by this inſult, aſſembled his forces, and giving battle to the Vandals, was crowned with his uſual ſucceſs. He then entered their country a third time, and proceeding with the utmoſt ſeverity of the ſword, he committed ſuch barbarities as are ſufficient to raiſe horror and indignation in the human breaſt. We hear no more of any attempt of the Vandals for the recovery of their liberty in Jarmeric's reign;

* The chronology of the Daniſh hiſtorians frequently differs from that of the hiſtorians of Mecklenburg. If the former be right in their computation, moſt of Jarmeric's exploits againſt the Vandals muſt have happened after the death of king Wiſimar, and in the reign of his ſon king Miciſlaus.

but

but hiſtory informs us of the cataſtrophe of that prince, which may, without temerity, be conſidered as an inſtance of the Divine vengeance for his horrid barbarities.

JARMERIC had married Suawilda, the ſiſter of Adelar king of Sweden. Bicco, a nobleman of great power and ambition, out of envy or reſentment to his ſovereign, accuſed the queen of entertaining a criminal correſpondence with Broder, the king's ſon by a former marriage. To ſupport the accuſation, he ſuborned falſe witneſſes; and the king, enraged at ſo unnatural a crime, ordered them both to be put to death. The ſentence was executed upon the innocent but unfortunate queen, who was trampled to death by horſes: but the ſon found means to eſcape, by the connivance of his keepers, and raiſed civil commotions, which ended only with the life of the old king. They were both made to believe, by thoſe wicked inſtruments who never fail to create diviſions in all courts, that their ſecurity could only be effected by the death of the other. Jarmeric retired to a ſtrong caſtle, which he had built as a place of ſhelter, in caſe of any unproſperous turn of fortune. The caſtle was beſieged and taken, and the father was put to death by his own unnatural ſon * †.

BUT we return now to king Wiſimar. This prince is ſuppoſed to have built the city of Wiſmar in 340, which took its name from the royal founder. The building of this city was in order to take advantage of the haven, which was convenient for trade. It was afterwards deſtroyed, but rebuilt by Gunzelin II. count of Schwerin, out of the ruins of Mecklen-

* Saxo Gram. Meurſ. Pontan.

† The death of this prince is related differently by ſome other hiſtorians. Broder, juſt as the executioner was going to ſtrangle him, received his pardon, the king having diſcovered his innocence. Bicco then, foreſeeing the conſequences of the juſt indignation of that monarch, perſuaded the queen's brothers to come and take their revenge for the ignominious death of their unfortunate ſiſter. Accordingly they came over from Sweden with a choſen band, and ſurprized Jarmeric, who was now grown univerſally odious to his ſubjects. They took him priſoner without any oppoſition, cut off his hands and feet, and in that miſerable condition, without the leaſt aſſiſtance from his own ſubjects, he expired.

burg,

burg, in 1239, and bought of that prince by Henry of Jeruſalem. There is ſtill a church in this place known by the name of Old Wiſmar; but of this city we ſhall have occaſion to ſay more hereafter.

THE wife of this prince is ſaid to have been Amalaſuntha, daughter of a Saxon king; but of this we have no proof. What can be affirmed with certainty is, that Wiſimar himſelf was of the tribe of the Aſdingi *.

XIII. MICESLAUS,

The Thirteenth KING of the VANDALS.

From 336 to 388. MICESLAUS † followed his father Wiſimar in the government; and is the laſt of the family that confined themſelves within the ancient boundaries of the Vandals. The nation being grown too populous for the country to maintain, their princes now began to march at the head of large armies in ſearch of foreign ſettlements, and particularly to invade the Roman territories: they were likewiſe, for the moſt part, more fortunate than Wiſimar.

THERE are other Vandalic princes in this period, of whom mention is made in the Roman hiſtorians; and an account of them may be ſeen at length in count Bunau, part I. lib. 3. but it is a queſtion whether they reigned on the Baltick coaſt. That our princes were all of the ſame line appears very probable,

* See Jorn. Kluver, Crantz. Bunau, Spener.

† We ſhall here obſerve, that although the names of ſome of the Vandal princes were of the termination in Slau, peculiar to the Sclavonians, who did not at that time reſide on the Baltick, ſtill this can be no objection to their reality: for Slau may alſo be a Vandalic termination, and ſignify the ſame as Lob, which in the Teutonic tongue denotes Praiſe, and, by corruption of the Low German, might be changed into Lov, Loff, Loffen, Lauen. But we ſhall give this only as a conjecture, laying no ſtreſs on forced etymologies. Beſides, no mention of Miceſlaus is made in any of the ancient hiſtorians.

when

when we conſider that the elections among thoſe people were ſeldom made in prejudice to the family of the deceaſed. Be that as it may, Miceſlaus is ſaid to have been at war with the Goths, and to have married Bulga, daughter of the king of Triers. But Triers at that time was a colony belonging to the Romans; and therefore we can hardly allow her father to have enjoyed the regal title.

XIV. RHADAGAISUS or RHADAGASTUS I.

The Fourteenth KING of the VANDALS.

From 388 to 405. Expedition and misfortune of Rhadagaſtus.

RHADAGAISUS * or RHADAGASTUS I. ſucceeded to the kingdom of Vandalia about the year 388, and is celebrated in hiſtory for his military atchievements. Being a declared enemy to the Roman name, he formed a project of ſubverting the weſtern empire. With this view he is ſaid to have raiſed an army of 200,000 men out of the different people that inhabited the countries beyond the Rhine and the Danube; or of 400,000, according to Zozymus, who undoubtedly muſt have included men, women, and children. At the head of this formidable hoſt he made a ſudden irruption into Italy, vowing to ſacrifice all the Roman blood he could ſhed to his angry deities. Upon the news of his approach, Rome was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation. As he was known to be a zealous worſhipper of the gods, the Pagans in that capital propagated a

* By ſome writers he is called king of the Goths, by others king of the Huns. But it was uſual to blend at that time, under the common name of Goths, all the different nations dwelling beyond the Danube and the Rhine. Iſidorus ſtiles him king of the Goths, and ſays he was a Scythian. But is it likely that the Goths ſhould ſubmit to a commander who was not of their own nation? And might not the Romans include the Vandals, with whom they were not as yet well acquainted, and who lived on the Eaſt Sea, under the name of Scythians? And does not the name of Rhadagaſt, who had divine honours paid him in Vandalia, give us room to believe that this prince was a native of that country?

report, that he would certainly prevail; not ſo much by his numerous forces, as by the aſſiſtance and protection of thoſe gods whom the Romans had ſo ſhamefully deſerted. They concluded, that the only means of preſerving that great city, was to reſtore the ancient religion, and aboliſh Chriſtianity, to the introduction of which they aſcribed all the calamities of the empire. But Stilico having aſſembled the Roman forces at Pavia, and reinforced his army with a great number of Goths, Huns, and Alani, under the command of Sarus a Goth, and Uldin, a prince of the Huns, fell unexpectedly upon Rhadagaſtus, who was then employed in the ſiege of Florence. The town was almoſt reduced to the laſt extremity, when the Roman general ordered the Huns and other auxiliaries to attack one of the three bodies into which Rhadagaſtus's army was divided: his orders were obeyed, and * this numerous hoſt was intirely defeated. Rhadagaſtus, with the ſcattered remains of his forces, retired to the neighbouring mountains of Feſulæ, where he was taken priſoner by Stilico †, who barbarouſly put him to death. His men being obliged to ſurrender to the Romans for want of proviſions, the greateſt part of them were ſold for ſlaves, and the remainder miſerably periſhed. This happened in the reign of the emperor Honorius, and in the year of Chriſt 405.

THE progreſs of this prince's arms, which had ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Roman empire, might have induced his followers to look upon him as more than mortal, and to pay him divine honours. He ſeems to have been adored as one of their principal deities after his deceaſe; and the place of worſhip

* Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. V. c. 3. Oroſ. lib. VII.

† Stilico himſelf was a Vandal. He was general under Theodoſius the Great, and had eſpouſed Serena, that prince's niece. Soon after this, Theodoſius appointed him governor to his ſon Honorius. He was a man of courage and abilities, ſo that every thing proſpered under his command; but he was ruined by his ambition: for he not only kept up a ſecret correſpondence with the Goths, in order to preſerve his credit and authority; but he likewiſe carried on an intrigue to raiſe his ſon Eucherius to the empire. The conſpiracy was diſcovered, and Honorius ordered him to be put to death in 408.

was

was a wood conſecrated to his memory. The Venedi were afterwards accuſtomed to ſacrifice their chief priſoners to this deity. The town of Gadebuſch is ſaid to have been built on that very ſpot, as appears by the name, which ſignifies the Wood of God. It is waſhed by a little river ſtill called the Rhadegaſt, in which the prieſts of that deity uſed to bathe themſelves before they entered the ſacred grove. In the neighbourhood there are ſtones at equal diſtances, of a prodigious ſize, which in all probability ſerved them inſtead of altars.

THIS is the moſt received opinion concerning the Vandalic god Rhadagaſtus; yet there are writers, who, with good foundation, affirm the worſhip of this deity to have been of a more ancient date than the king of that name. Rhadagaſtus's wife is ſaid to have been Clelia, a daughter of the king of Hungary. But the name of Hungary was not as yet known, much leſs was there a king of that nation. They muſt, therefore, mean the Huns, who at that time dwelt on the Tanais *.

XV. CORSICO,

The Fifteenth KING of the VANDALS.

From 405 to 407.

SO far was the death of Rhadagaſtus from diſcouraging the Vandals in their attempt to ſubdue the Romans, that they rather grew the more emboldened by their late expedition. They reſolved, therefore, to continue the war with all their might; in which they were directed by their two leaders Corſico and Godegiſilus. The former governed his paternal kingdom on the Baltick; the latter commanded the Vandalic armies in the great migration of thoſe people when they invaded the Roman empire.

* See Oros. Zozim. Sozom. Crantz. Bunau, Spener, Hubner, Maſius de diis Obotritis.

But whether Corſico only, or both theſe princes, were ſons of Rhadagaſtus, or whether Godegiſilus was the ſon of Corſico, we ſhall not now diſpute: for ſo many writers, ſo many different opinions; and at ſuch a diſtance of time, it is impoſble to reconcile them: the hiſtorians of Mecklenburg are unanimous in making Corſico the ſon of Rhadagaſtus; and they further obſerve, that the Vandals in the choice of their princes or leaders ſeldom departed from the royal line. It is probable that theſe princes reigned jointly as collegues, ſince they both lived at the ſame time, and waged war againſt the Romans. Some will have it they were Rhadagaſtus's ſon and grandſon; but Godegiſilus could not by any means have been the ſon of Corſico; for he would have been too young to perform the mighty exploits aſcribed to him at this time by ancient hiſtorians. Corſico is by Crantzius called the king of the Burgundian Vandals, by the name of Croſcus; by others he is ſtiled Crocus, and alſo Carocus *.

These two princes oblige us to divide the Vandalic hiſtory, as their kingdom and nation became now ſeparated into two branches; one foreign, or that of the emigrants; and the other domeſtic, or that of the Vandals who remained in their mother country. The latter we ſhall hereafter examine; the former we muſt now take under conſideration, as it made the greateſt figure, ſpreading itſelf to the remoteſt parts of the Roman empire.

* See Crantz. Vand. Weſtphal, Kluver, Bunau.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Kings of the Foreign Vandals, and firſt of thoſe who ſettled in Gaul and Spain.

Inundation of the northern nations. Gaul and Spain invaded by the Vandals. Kings of the Burgundians. Kings of the Suevi.

I. GODEGISILUS *.

From 407 to 413. Inundation of the northern nations.

THIS prince continued the grand ſcheme of Rhadagaſtus againſt the Romans, and founded the kingdom of the foreign Vandals, or of thoſe emigrants who ſpread themſelves into different parts of the Roman empire. Having collected a mighty army of Burgundians, Alani, and Suevi, he broke into Gaul, from whence he penetrated into Spain, and ſettled in the province of Bætica, now Andaluſia. Before he marched into Spain, he left part of his people in Gaul, who founded the kingdom of Burgundy. This may be called the beginning of the great revolution in the fifth century, when a ſwarm of northern nations invaded the ſouth of Europe, and ſubverted the Roman empire.

In regard to the numerous forces aſſembled under this prince's ſtandard, by the name of Burgundians, Alani, and Suevi, it is probable † they were all one people, or properly different tribes of the ſame nation, known by the general appellation of Vandals or Suevi. Thoſe tribes, it is true, did not acknowledge any common chief or ſovereign ‡; yet it may be held for certain, that they were united together by a general confederacy, and that the principal or mother tribe had the ſuperintendency and direction in domeſtic affairs, and in foreign wars the ſupreme

* The Roman hiſtorians call him Godigiſclus. † Buckholtz. ‡ Bunau.

command

command. With regard to the Burgundians, it is well known that they originally came from Pomerania, which beyond all doubt was inhabited by the Vandals. And ſince the Alani are ſaid by ſome * to have been natives of Pruſſia, they may very well be ſuppoſed a tribe of the Vandals, eſpecially as they would hardly have joined with the latter, unleſs they had been one and the ſame nation: as for the Suevi, it is very certain that under this name were included the Vandals.

THIS irruption of Godegiſilus was at the inſtigation of Stilico the Roman general: his aim in inviting that prince was to depoſe Honorius, and to raiſe his own ſon Eucherius, who had married that emperor's ſiſter, to the imperial throne. As for the motive that tempted the Vandals, and other German nations bordering on the Danube, to plunder the provinces of Gaul, it was the ſame as that which had induced the Gauls themſelves under Brennus to invade Italy at a time when their own country was not ſo well cultivated. The deſire of booty was their common incentive to war: they ſeldom aimed at preſerving the conquered lands; their incurſions and invaſions being only ſo many robberies, to which they were perhaps rather inſtigated by neceſſity than ambition, as the coldneſs of their climate, joined with their ignorance in agriculture, prevented the earth from yielding them a plentiful ſupport. But they were particularly prompted to theſe invaſions by the deſire of drinking the delicious wines, and eating the exquiſite fruit, which their own country was incapable of producing. They had at all times the ſame paſſion for wine as the negroes and American ſavages have for ſpirituous liquors. Hence it is that the Romans, finding by experience this to be the real cauſe of the many incurſions of the northern nations, prohibited the exportation of their wines and fruit, in order to prevent thoſe people from taking a liking to them, and coming to procure by the ſword what they had it not in their power to purchaſe with money †. Procopius indeed

* Others make them a people of Sarmatia, who dwelt on the right ſide of the Tanais.

† Abbe du Bos. hiſt, de la mon. Franc.

takes

takes notice, that the Vandals who invaded Gaul had been obliged by famine to abandon their own country in ſearch of new ſettlements; but that the greater part of the nation continued in their ancient habitations beyond the Danube. We are ignorant which way they directed their march to Gaul, except that they firſt diſcharged their fury upon the Franks, from whom, however, they received a ſignal overthrow; and Modegeſkil *, one of their chief commanders, loſt his life: yet they ſoon recovered themſelves, and Reſpendial king of the Alani coming to their aſſiſtance, the Franks were obliged to retire, and the Vandals entered Gaul on the laſt day of the year 406.

406 Gaul and Spain invaded by the Vandals.

AFTER they had paſſed the Rhine, they ravaged Germania Prima †, and ſtormed the city of Mentz, the capital of that province. Thence they directed their march into Gallia Belgica, and afterwards ſpread themſelves into Aquitania, the moſt fruitful part of Gaul.

IN the mean time Conſtantine, a private ſoldier in the Roman army, being proclaimed emperor by the legions in Britain, in oppoſition to Honorius, landed in Gaul with a powerful army. Soon after his arrival he marched againſt the Vandals, over whom he obtained ſeveral advantages, which induced them to ſue for peace; but he did not oblige them to evacuate Gaul, expecting probably by their aid to maintain himſelf in his uſurpation. Honorius had already acknowledged Conſtantine his partner in the empire, when Gerontius, whom Conſtans, the ſon of Conſtantine, had intruſted with the government of Spain, revolted upon ſome diſguſt, and ſet up Maximus as emperor. Upon this the Vandals, Alani, and Suevi, probably at the inſtigation of the uſurper, had recourſe to arms, and poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral cities in Gaul. The inhabitants ſeeing no hopes of relief either from Honorius or Conſtantine, united in their own defence, and de-

* Oros. Marcel. Some pretend that it was Godegiſilus that was killed; but this is contradicted by Procopius.

† Germany was divided by Auguſtus into Prima and Secunda, or Upper and Lower; the former contained the preſent Alſace, and the cities of Worms, Spire, and Mentz; the latter reached as far as the Maeſe and Lower Rhine, and was ſeparated from the Belgica by the Demer and the Scheld.

feated

feated the enemy in ſeveral engagements. Deterred by theſe difficulties, the northern warriors turned their arms againſt Spain, being well acquainted with the diſtacted ſtate of that country. Having paſſed the Pyrenees without any oppoſition, they ſoon made themſelves maſters of ſeveral ſtrong holds, and obtained a victory over Conſtans, whom Conſtantine his father had ſent to quell the revolt of Gerontius. In conſequence of this defeat, Conſtans himſelf was obliged to retire to his father, who then reſided at Arles. With regard to Gerontius, he concluded a kind of alliance with the Vandals, Alani, and Suevi, againſt Conſtantine their common enemy: upon which theſe northern nations, having nothing to oppoſe them, poured their troops into Spain, where they committed great ravages, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the whole country in 409 or 410 *.

We have given this account of the invaſion of Gaul and Spain from Roman writers, who are not however very conſiſtent with one another. Procopius † ſays, that the Vandals, under the command of Godegiſilus, after breaking into Gaul, penetrated as far as Spain. Frigeridus, quoted by Gregory of Tours, affirms, that Godegiſilus was killed in his attempt to paſs the Rhine, and that Gundericus led the Vandals into Spain; but I apprehend the preference is to be given to the authority of Procopius. It appears from that author, and from Gregory of Tours and others, that Godegiſilus was ſtill living in 412, and ſettled in the conqueſt of Spain. Some modern writers ‡ make this prince the ſon of Corſico, without any authority, and affirm Gunderic and Genſeric to have been his ſons. There are others who ſuppoſe § theſe to have been the ſons of Fredebald, and grandſons of Corſico. But we muſt acknowlege that this part of the genealogy of the Vandalic princes is very intricate. The moſt probable opinion is that which affirms Godegiſilus to have been the brother of Corſico, and the ſon of Rhadagaſtus, and the father of Gunderic and Genſeric.

* Oros. Idat. † Bel. Vand. lib. I. ‡ Chemn. Kluver.
§ Marſhal.

Of

Of the VANDALIC KINGS of BURGUNDY.

From 410 to 534. Kings of Burgundy.

THIS foreign kingdom of the Vandals was alſo divided into two branches; the Gallic or Burgundian, and the Spaniſh. During the life of Godegiſilus they were probably both ſubject to his command; but after his deceaſe the Burgundian kingdom became independent, and was governed by the following princes: Gundacar or Gundacarius *, Gundebald with his three brothers, Godegiſilus, Chilperic, and Godemar; to theſe ſucceeded Sigiſmund and Godemar, in whom this kingdom became extinct, and fell under the dominion of the Franks.

BUT whether theſe Burgundian kings were of the ſame family as the other princes of the Vandals, does not appear with any certainty, though the opinion that they were of the ſame blood is highly probable. This however is beyond all diſpute, that in their firſt expedition they, as well as the Suevi and the Alani, were under the command of Godegiſilus, being in reality of the ſame nation as the Vandals. With the aſſiſtance of theſe people Godegiſilus, as hath been already mentioned, made himſelf maſter of Mentz, Straſburg, and Rheims; and he left thoſe troops behind him in Gaul, to the end that in caſe of any unproſperous ſtroke of fortune, they might favour his retreat. There is no ſort of doubt but the perſon whom he appointed to command this army in his abſence was intirely devoted to his intereſt; and it is naturally ſuppoſed that ſuch a commander, inveſted with ſo great a truſt, was a near relation, or one of his own family. We have already taken notice that Rugiland, brother of An-

* It is to be obſerved, that the names of theſe princes are all compounded, and of German original; which ſhews the Vandals to have been of German not Gothic extraction. Thus Gundacar or Gundheer ſignifies a good commander; Gundebald or Guntbund, a good ally; Chilperick or Kilperick, very ſtrong or very rich; Gundemar or Godmar, a good prince; Gonſil or Godegiſil, a good lord; Sigiſmund, a victorious mouth. In the ſame manner, Sigeric, abounding in victories; Gunderic, abounding in goodneſs, &c. See Dunod. hiſt. des Sequanois, who quotes the Germ. vocab. and Grot. in indice prop. nom. Goth. Vand. & Longob.

thyrius II. was made prince of Rugen: if this be a certain fact, it ſhews the policy of the kings of the Vandals in preferring their relations to the command of the ſeveral tribes of that nation. And this renders it probable that they behaved in the ſame manner in regard to the head or chief of the tribe of the Burgundians.

410. THIS chief was Gundacar, Gundahar, or Gundicarius, the beginning of whoſe reign ſome place in the year 410, and others in 420; but theſe accounts may be very well reconciled. In 410 the Vandals under Godegiſilus, being joined by the Burgundians and other northern tribes, broke into Spain, and ſoon made themſelves maſters of that opulent kingdom. The provinces were divided among them by lot: Gallicia fell to the Vandals and Suevi; Luſitania and the province of Carthagena to the Alani; and Bætica to the Vandals called Silingi, from whom this province is ſuppoſed to have taken the name of Vandaluſia, changed afterwards into that of Andaluſia. Moſt of the natives ſubmitted at length to the conquerors, who ſwore they would hereafter treat them as friends and allies; an oath which they moſt religiouſly obſerved. Hence it came to paſs, that many of the Romans preferred to live in poverty under their new maſters, rather than return to their former ſituation.

416. BUT in the year 416 Wallia, king of the Goths in Gaul, came to an agreement with the emperor Honorius to drive thoſe adventurers out of Spain. This treaty was productive of a new war, the particulars of which have not been tranſmitted to us in hiſtory. We are informed only in general, that Wallia on this occaſion gave extraordinary marks of his zeal for the proſperity of the empire, and obtained great advantages over the Alani and Vandals, who were ſettled in Luſitania. The Silingi in particular ſuffered greatly, as did likewiſe the Alani, who loſt their king Atax; ſo that their diſtreſſed condition obliged them to put themſelves under the protection of the Vandals. And hence the princes of the Vandals ever after bore the title of kings of the Vandals and Alani *.

* Oros. Idat. Chron.

ON

On the occaſion of invading Spain, Gundacar was appointed Godegiſilus's lieutenant in Gaul. Not long after that invaſion the Vandals ſeparated themſelves in Spain, and erected diſtinct kingdoms. The ambition of their chiefs had given riſe to moſt fatal diſſenſions, which almoſt enabled the Romans to recover that province *.

GUNDACAR perceiving himſelf neglected by the Vandals in Spain, ſeized the ſovereignty of Gaul, of which he had been only governor, and aſſumed the regal title about the year 420. After that period he waged war againſt the Romans with various ſucceſs, till he was confined by them to the mountains of Savoy. At length his dominion was ſettled over the duchy and county of Burgundy, a part of Switzerland, Dauphiné, and Savoy: Vienne was the capital of his kingdom. He embraced the Chriſtian religion, and was defeated and ſlain in battle by the Huns under Attila in 450. Though ſome pretend that this overthrow happened in 435 †; and between him and Gundebald they inſert two other princes, viz. Gundeucus and Chilperic, who reigned in conjunction; yet it is highly probable that Gundeucus and Gundacar were the ſame perſon. We therefore hold that Gundebald, the ſon of Gundacar, reigned at firſt in conjunction with his brothers Chilperic, Gundamar or Godemar, and Gunſil or Godegiſilus; but he put them all three ſucceſſively to death. This prince was engaged in the great confederacy againſt Attila, and ſignalized himſelf in the memorable victory by which that northern ravager was driven out of Gaul in the year 451. He deſerted the orthodox religion for Arianiſm, as his brothers had done, except Chilperic, whoſe daughter Clotilda continued a Catholic, and converted her huſband Clovis, king of the Franks, to the Chriſtian faith. Gundebald was the author of the Burgundian laws. He was ſucceeded in 517 by his ſon Sigiſmund, who was taken priſoner and put to death in 524 by the ſons of Clovis king of the Franks. By the perſuaſion and

* Oros. Idat. Chron. † Hiſt. de Sequanois.

advice of Alcimus Avitus biſhop of Vienne he had renounced the errors of Arianiſm in his father's life-time, and embraced the orthodox religion. This prince was ſucceeded in the government by his brother Gundemar or Godemar, againſt whom the kings of the Franks, viz. of Paris, Orleans, and Soiſſons, ſons of Clovis, declared war. The iſſue of this war was unfortunate to Gundemar; for he was obliged to fly to Italy, where he lived in exile, or, as others pretend, died in priſon. In him ended the Vandalic kingdom of the Burgundians, which was ſubdued by the Franks *.

Of the VANDALIC KINGS of SPAIN.

Vandalic kings of Spain.

THE other branch of the foreign kingdom of the Vandals devolved, after the death of Godegiſilus, to his two ſons Gunderic † and Genſeric, who reigned jointly in Spain. Genſeric went over to Africa in 429, and there founded the famous kingdom of the Vandals. Gunderic died before that expedition was ripe. The Suevi and the Alani alſo erected kingdoms; but the Suevi obtaining a ſuperiority, made themſelves maſters of the weſtern parts of Spain, while the Viſigoths ſeized all to the eaſtward. The Vandals embraced the Chriſtian religion at the ſame time that the Goths were converted, viz. in 332, that is before they paſſed the Rhine; but held, like other Gothic nations, the tenets of Arius. It is uncertain whether they were not firſt ſeduced to this ſect by Genſeric, whom Idatius repreſents to have been a bitter enemy to the orthodox.

BUT to be more particular in regard to thoſe revolutions, it appears, from what has been above mentioned, that not only the

* See Oros. Proſp. Aquit. Caſſiodor. Schurtzfleiſch hiſt. vet. pop. & reg. Burgund. Hubner, Bunau, &c.

† Procopius calls Genſeric's elder brother Gontharis.

Vandals,

Vandals, but the Suevi and the Alani, were under the command of Godegiſilus, and attended him in his expedition to Spain. After the death of that prince a diviſion aroſe among thoſe tribes: whether it be that Gunderic was not endowed with ſufficient abilities to maintain the ſame authority over them as his father, or whether the Suevi bore a diſlike to him for his embracing the Chriſtian religion, it is certain they revolted from him after the death of Godegiſilus. Then it was that the generals of the Suevi and the Alani made themſelves independent, and ſeized thoſe provinces of which they had been appointed only lieutenants. This gave riſe to the war between Gunderic and the Suevi. Gunderic gained great advantages over Hermanaric king of the Suevi, and in the end compelled him to take ſhelter in the mountains of Biſcay *. But the approach of Aſterius, whom Idatius calls comes Hiſpaniarum, obliged Gunderic to withdraw from Gallicia into Bætica, after loſing ſome men at Braga. In 422 the emperor Honorius appointed Caſtinus, who was called Magiſter Militiæ, to the command of a conſiderable army in that province. The Roman general obtained ſeveral advantages †, and reduced the enemy to great ſtraits; but upon their coming to a pitched battle, fortune turned her back to him, and declared in favour of the Vandals. Idatius imputes this defeat of the Romans to the treachery of the Goths in the imperial army; but others, with greater probability, charge it to the temerity of Caſtinus. This victory greatly raiſed the reputation of the Vandals, as they had ſo ſignally prevailed over the united forces of the Romans and Goths. After this defeat Caſtinus retired to the city of Tarraco, while the Vandals extended their conqueſts, plundered the Balearic iſlands, and eſtabliſhed themſelves in the province of Bætica. According to Idatius, Gunderic died ‡ ſuddenly at

* Idat. † Oros. Idat.

‡ Procopius ſays he had been informed by the Vandals themſelves, that this prince had been taken priſoner in battle by the Suevi, and barbarouſly crucified; but ſome modern writers pretend that this was a ſtory invented to conceal what they call his ſhameful end.

Seville

Seville in 428, tormented with an evil ſpirit, after taking the church of that city from the orthodox, and giving it to the Arians. Before this he had loſt his ſon Gundamund by Elizabeth princeſs of Granada, unleſs it may be rather ſaid, that this prince was murdered, ſoon after his father's deceaſe, by his uncle Genſeric *.

The name of the Suevi ſucceeded now to that of the Vandals in Spain; and even the province of Vandalitia was part of the Suevian kingdom. The Alani had likewiſe their kings, viz. Reſpendial, who accompanied the Vandals in their expedition into Gaul and Spain, and Atax, who ſettled in Luſitania; but their dominions were ſoon ſwallowed up by the Suevi; or rather ſince Atax was killed in 416, his territories were again re-united to thoſe of Gunderic. And of theſe kings of the Suevi it is not at all abſurd to ſay, that they likewiſe were near relations of Godegiſilus; this being probable from the above account of the Burgundians †.

Of the KINGS of the SUEVI in SPAIN.

Kings of the Suevi.

THE Vandals who invaded Spain ſubdivided themſelves into two kingdoms; one of the Vandals in Africa, and the other of the Suevi in Spain. The Suevian kings in Spain were, Hermerich, Rechila, Recciar, Maldra, Frumar, Remiſmund, Dietmar, Miro, Eborich, and Andeca, who all together, reckoning an interregnum of about 100 years, reigned 177 years; and their kingdom was at length ſubverted by the Goths in 590.

We have very few accounts of thoſe princes, except what is related by the Gothic hiſtorians Roderic and Idatius. Iſidorus Hiſpal. has alſo left us a chronicle and a hiſtory of the Goths, Vandals, and Suevi; but they are both very ſcarce. Theſe writers

* Bunau. † See Kluver, Bunau, &c.

do

do not inform us whether they were all of one family; but the ſhort reigns of the latter kings ſeem to inſinuate that they did not ſucceed one another by inheritance, and conſequently the laſt princes might not have been of the ſame line as the firſt. It is however ſaid of them, that Hermerich their firſt king accompanied Godegiſilus into Spain in 410, and by him was appointed governor or lieutenant of a particular diſtrict. After that prince's deceaſe, finding the authority of Gunderic greatly weakened, he took an opportunity to ſeize the regal dignity. Upon the death of Gunderic, and of Atax king of the Alani, he made himſelf maſter of all their dominions, extending his kingdom from Gallicia to the extremity of Andaluſia, and lived till 440. Recciar, the firſt Chriſtian king of the Suevi, waged war unſucceſsfully againſt the Goths, and thereby greatly impaired the kingdom of the Suevi. Maldra and Frumar were ſtill more unfortunate. Remiſmund at length concluded a peace, and was the firſt that embraced the tenets of Arius, and became tributary to the Goths. The interregnum that followed upon the death of Remiſmund was not owing to the want of kings, but to the barrenneſs of intelligence concerning their reigns: for the Suevi being then tributary to the Goths, lived in peace with that nation; and the Gothic hiſtorians (by whom only we are informed of the Suevian affairs) confine themſelves, in their accounts of thoſe people, to military events; beſides the chronicle of Idatius after the reign of Remiſmund is loſt. Dietmar appears next after the interregnum: he renounced the errors of Arius, and embraced the orthodox religion. He likewiſe threw off the yoke of the Goths, and hence aroſe continual wars between the two nations. Andeca, the laſt king of the Suevi, kept his court at Seville; but was compelled by the Gothic king Leovigild to retire into a convent in 590. With him ended the name and kingdom of the Suevi in Spain; and the whole nation was brought under the Gothic dominion *.

* See Roderic, Iſidor. Hiſpal. Idat. Oros.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the KINGS of the VANDALS in AFRICA.

Occaſion of Genſeric's expedition to Africa. His progreſs in that country. He concludes a peace with the Romans. Takes Carthage. A ſecond peace concluded. Sortes Vandalicæ. Affairs of the Roman empire. Genſeric takes and plunders Rome. Wages war againſt the emperors Majorianus and Leo. His death and character. Tranſactions under king Hunoric. Reign of king Gunthamund. Reign of king Thraſamund. Reign of king Hilderic. Reign of Gilimer, and diſſolution of the kingdom of the Vandals in Africa.

I. GENSERIC,

The Firſt KING of the VANDALS in AFRICA.

Occaſion of Genſeric's expedition to Africa.

THE Vandals by the conqueſt of Africa eſtabliſhed a kingdom which ſuddenly roſe to an amazing pitch of grandeur, and even rivalled the powerful ſtates of Carthage and Rome. The founder was Genſeric, the ſecond ſon of Godegiſilus, who, after the death of his brother Gunderic in 428, obtained the government of the whole nation. He had at firſt embraced the Roman faith; but afterwards exchanged it for that of Arius. From his infancy he had been inured to the hardſhips of war, in which he always behaved with the greateſt intrepidity. The occaſion for making the conqueſt of Africa was given by Boniface the Roman proconſul. The jealouſy between this general and the celebrated Ætius, who was magiſter militum, proved of the moſt fatal conſequence to the empire. Ætius, uneaſy at ſeeing Boniface preferred to the government of Africa, inſinuated to Placidia, who had the direction of the ſtate during the minority of her ſon Valentinian

Valentinian III. that Boniface intended to uſurp the ſovereignty of that province. Placidia giving credit to theſe inſinuations, recalled Boniface from his government, with orders to appear at Ravenna. Ætius at the ſame time, under pretence of friendſhip, wrote a letter to the proconſul, forewarning him that his enemies had projected his deſtruction, and that if he came to court, they would certainly execute their deſign. Boniface not doubting of the ſincerity of his pretended friend, fell into the ſnare, and refuſed to obey Placidia's order. Apprehenſive of being brought to a compliance by force, he began to provide for his defence, and at length openly revolted. But not thinking himſelf in a condition to contend with the whole power of the empire, he invited Gunderic and Genſeric, the two princes of the Vandals, who then reigned in Spain, to invade Africa, on condition that the province ſhould be divided equally among them into three ſhares; and that they ſhould enter into the ſtricteſt alliance, for their common defence. The two brothers readily accepted the propoſal; but before the matter was ripe, Gunderic died, as we have already mentioned, and was ſucceeded by his brother Genſeric. This prince alone undertook the expedition; but juſt as his army was ready to embark, he received intelligence that Hermigarius, a prince of the Suevi, had invaded the provinces belonging to the Vandals in Spain. Upon which he put himſelf at the head of a choſen body of troops, and coming up with Hermigarius in the neighbourhood of Emerita, now Merida, he gained a complete victory over the Suevi. Hermigarius fled with his broken forces, but was drowned in the river Anas, now the Guadiana. Genſeric then returned to the place of embarkation, viz. the ſtreight which divides Africa from Spain; and commanding his army to go on board, he put to ſea in the month of May 429, and landed ſafely in Africa. The number of troops under his command is differently reported; ſome make them 80,000, others 50,000; probably the leſſer number included only fighting men, the larger alſo women and children. 429.

In the mean time Boniface was reconciled to the imperial court, in conſequence of an obliging letter from Placidia, who had diſcovered the real cauſe of the revolt. Some of that general's friends having obtained leave of Placidia to paſs over into Africa, with a view of enquiring into the cauſe of his extraordinary conduct, he produced the letter written to him by Ætius; by which they were convinced that his joining with the Vandals had been merely out of regard to his own preſervation. They returned with the letter to Placidia, who, in conſequence thereof, wrote to Boniface, excuſing what had paſſed, aſſuring him of her future friendſhip, and reminding him of his duty. Boniface being greatly concerned at the raſh ſtep he had taken, would fain have perſuaded the Vandals to return to Spain, offering them conſiderable ſums for their compliance; but it was now too late: they were already maſters of the far greater part of Africa; and when he attempted to force them to evacuate the province, his army was routed, and he was obliged himſelf to take refuge in Hippo, a ſtrong city on the coaſt of Numidia.

430. Genſeric inveſted Hippo in the month of May 430, about three months before the death of St. Auſtin *, biſhop of that city. The ſiege laſted near fourteen months, and the Vandals were obliged by a famine, which began to rage in their camp, to deſiſt from the enterprize. In the mean while a conſiderable number of troops having been ſent from Rome and Conſtantinople to Africa, under the command of Aſpar, magiſter militum, they came to a ſecond engagement, which was fought with great obſtinacy on both ſides; but at length the Romans were utterly defeated. The victors then over-ran all Africa, and committed ſuch ravages, that the inhabitants of Hippo, ſtruck with a ſudden panic, abandoned that city; upon which the Vandals took poſſeſſion of it, and ſet it on fire. Va-

He concludes a peace with the Romans.

lentinian now found himſelf under the neceſſity of making peace with the enemy, which was ſigned at Hippo on the 11th of February in the year 435, and Genſeric kept poſſeſſion of his

* Procop. Poſſid.

conqueſts

conqueſts in Africa. Procopius pretends that as an acknowledgment for theſe provinces Genſeric engaged to pay an annual tribute, and gave his ſon Hunoric for an hoſtage; but when we conſider the great ſucceſs which attended the arms of the Vandals, this account is highly improbable. 435.

THIS peace was of no long duration. Genſeric four years after, that is, in 439, ſeeing the Romans engaged in a war with the Goths, embraced this opportunity to ſurprize the city of Carthage on the 23d of October; by the taking of which place the Vandals remained maſters of the Proconſularis, Byzacene, Getulia, and part of Numidia. Thus that famous city was ſubdued by the Vandals, after it had been under the dominion of the Romans (with whom it had once contended for empire) 585 years. The reduction of Carthage occaſioned a great alarm in Italy, and the governor of Rome was ordered to put that capital in a poſture of defence. At the ſame time the Vandals extended themſelves, almoſt without reſiſtance, throughout Africa. In the month of June Genſeric, deſirous of accuſtoming his ſubjects to naval expeditions, invaded Sicily, and meeting with little or no oppoſition, after ravaging the open country, laid ſiege to Palermo; but not being able to reduce that city, he returned to Africa with an immenſe booty, and a prodigious number of captives. The Vandals being now become formidable to both empires, Theodoſius reſolved to ſuccour Valentinian againſt ſo powerful an enemy. With this view he equipped a fleet, which ſerved for no other purpoſe than to create an immenſe expence; for Genſeric pretending to be deſirous of an accommodation, the Roman generals waited, during the negociation, on the coaſt of Sicily, till the ſeaſon for acting was elapſed. In the mean time the Vandals not only ſubdued a part of the iſland of Sicily, but likewiſe made themſelves maſters of Sardinia and Corſica, and obtained as great a ſway as the ancient Carthaginians over all the Mediterranean *. 439. 440.

* Proſper. Victor. Vit.

442. He concludes a ſecond peace with the Romans.

But the Huns having now broke into Thrace and Illyricum, Theodoſius was obliged to recal his troops, and Valentinian to conclude a peace with Genſeric, who obtained a ceſſion of all the provinces he had ſubdued in Africa. Theſe were, Getulia, with a part of Numidia, and the two provinces Byzacene and Abaritana, which Genſeric kept for himſelf; he alſo divided two more, viz. Zeugitana and Proconſularis, among his troops. On this occaſion he not only ſeized the rights of ſovereignty, with the uſual revenue, but alſo deprived the ancient ſubjects of part of their lands. This manner of treating the conquered provinces was likewiſe practiſed by the Goths *, and appears to have been agreeable to the conſtitution of all the northern nations. By this it was ſettled, that their kings ſhould have one-third of the country; another ſhould be ceded to the ſoldiery; and the laſt to the glebæ adſcripti, or peaſants. The above diſtribution of lands in Africa was known by the name of Sortes Vandalicæ. The part belonging to the king was called his patrimony or domain; that which fell to the ſoldiery was exempt from taxes, being aſſigned in payment of military ſervices; and the laſt, which remained in the hands of the conquered, was loaded with heavy impoſitions. The genius of the Vandal nation ſhewed itſelf alſo in the diſmantling of the African towns, as they choſe rather to truſt to their own valour for the defence of the country, than to the cowardly reſource of walls and fortifications. Another view they might have, was, that the inhabitants well affected to the Romans ſhould have no ſtrong hold to depend upon; nor the imperial troops, if ever they attempted to recover the loſt provinces, ſhould have no hopes of ſeizing a fortreſs, and maintaining their ground by the aid of retrenchments. This was then reckoned a very wiſe ſtep; but it afterwards met with a general diſapprobation, when Beliſarius landed in Africa, and

Sortes Vandalicæ.

* Sic enim debellatæ & ſubjugatæ Italiæ victores Gothi, agros in tres partes diviſos cum veteribus ſortiti ſunt colonis, ut his una relinqueretur tertia, reliquæ duæ cederent victoribus. Beehr.

ſeized

ſeized all the towns of that defenceleſs province. And thus it is that the vulgar are apt to judge of meaſures; changing their opinion of them according to the different ſucceſs with which they are attended.

GENSERIC did not intirely depend upon the above-mentioned treaty, but ſought every opportunity to cut out employment for the Romans, in order to provide for his own ſecurity. He increaſed his army to 80,000 men, under the command of 80 tribuni militum: he alſo encouraged Attila king of the Huns to penetrate into Gaul, with a view not only of diſtreſſing the Romans, but likewiſe of giving uneaſineſs to Theodoric king of the Viſigoths, whom he knew to be greatly incenſed againſt him for the injurious treatment of his daughter. This princeſs was named Alfreda: ſhe had been married to Hunoric, his eldeſt ſon, and for ſome time enjoyed all the bleſſings of a conjugal life; but Genſeric ſuſpecting afterwards that ſhe had a deſign to poiſon him, is ſaid to have cut off her noſe and ears, and in that condition to have ſent her back to her father *. But it has been juſtly obſerved, that the characters of princes are but too often diſguiſed by the prejudice and partiality of Roman hiſtorians.

455. Affairs of the empire.

THE death of the emperor Valentinian III. occaſioned a new rupture between Genſeric and the Romans. That weak and unfortunate prince was murdered on the 17th of March by Petronius Maximus †, who ſeized the imperial throne, and obliged Eudoxia, the deceaſed emperor's widow, to marry him, contrary to her inclination. This princeſs, deteſting the murderer of her huſband, and blinded with paſſion and the thirſt of revenge, diſpatched a truſty meſſenger to Genſeric, conjuring him to come and puniſh the murderer of his ally Valentinian, and to reſcue her out of the arms of a tyrant, whoſe hands were ſtained with the blood of his ſovereign. She aſſured him that he would meet with little or no reſiſtance in Italy, and that ſhe would aſſiſt him herſelf to the utmoſt of her abilities.

* Priſcus, Jornand. † Evag. Procop. Marcel. Idat.

Genſeric

Genſeric embraced ſo favourable an opportunity of enriching himſelf with the ſpoils of the once miſtreſs of the world. He fitted out a fleet for Italy, the very report of which threw Rome into the utmoſt conſternation. Maximus, unable to oppoſe him, prepared to ſave himſelf by flight; when he was cut in pieces, and thrown into the Tyber *.

Genſeric takes and plunders Rome.

THREE days after the death of Maximus, that is, on the 15th of June, Genſeric entered Rome, without meeting with any reſiſtance. He ſtrictly enjoined his men to ſpare the city from fire and ſword, according to the promiſe he is ſaid to have made to pope Leo, who went out to meet him; but he could not preſerve it from plunder: and whoever reads the booty the Vandals made during a fortnight's ſtay in that city, would ſcarce imagine it had been ever ranſacked by the Goths. Amongſt the ſpoils hiſtorians mention a ſhip laden with ſtatues (which was loſt in her paſſage); ſacred veſſels of gold enriched with precious ſtones; the covering of the capitol, which was of braſs plated over with gold; the veſſels of the temple of Jeruſalem †, which Titus Veſpaſian, after the deſtruction of that city, had brought to Rome; the imperial treaſure and regalia; and all the riches which were uſually diſplayed at the triumphs of the Romans. Genſeric having ſtripped the capital of the world of all its wealth and coſtly ornaments, ſet ſail again for Africa, and took with him the empreſs Eudoxia, and her two daughters Placidia and Eudoxia: the latter he married to his eldeſt ſon Hunoric; and the former was eſpouſed to Olybrius, who by that match paved the way for himſelf to the throne. But Genſeric afterwards ſet the empreſs Eudoxia and her ſecond daughter Placidia at liberty, at the requeſt of the emperor Leo ‡. Strange revolution of affairs, that German nations ſhould march from the borders of the Baltic to Africa, to revenge the cauſe of an-

* Proſper.

† Theſe, together with the imperial regalia, were brought to Conſtantinople, when Juſtinian ſubverted the kingdom of the Vandals.

‡ Procop. Theoph. Idat Evag. Vict. Vit.

cient

cient Carthage, and to divide the treaſures of the capitol among the inhabitants of a conquered province!

DURING theſe tranſactions, Avitus, on whom Maximus had conferred the poſt of magiſter militum, aſſumed the imperial dignity in Gaul, and was received at Rome with great demonſtrations of joy. Soon after his acceſſion he ſent a numerous fleet to Sicily, under the command of Ricimer, a famous commander, ſprung from the royal family of the Suevi, in order to wage war againſt Genſeric, for having ſeized, on his return to Africa, the provinces belonging to the Romans by virtue of the treaty of 442. Genſeric, not at all intimidated by theſe preparations, ſet ſail from Carthage with a fleet of ſixty ſhips, and a great number of land-forces *; but Ricimer falling upon him unexpectedly near Corſica, gained a complete victory over the Vandalic fleet. Genſeric, however, ſoon returned with a more conſiderable ſquadron, and making a deſcent upon Italy, ravaged all the coaſt. Avitus being depoſed, after a ſhort reign, and Majorianus choſen in his ſtead, the Vandals landed a body of troops in Campania; but while they were buſy in plundering the country, the Romans ſurprized them, put great numbers to the ſword, among the reſt the brother-in-law of Genſeric, and after obliging them to quit their booty, drove them back to their ſhips. Majorianus elated with this advantage, reſolved to paſs over into Africa, in order to reſcue thoſe fruitful provinces out of the hands of the enemy. For that purpoſe he had equipped a fleet, which was to wait for him in the neighbourhood of Alicant. The Romans conceived great hopes of this expedition; but Genſeric, by one bold and fortunate ſtroke, fruſtrated all their deſigns. A ſquadron of his beſt ſhips ſurprized the Roman veſſels at anchor, ſunk a great number of them, took ſome, diſabled others, and returned in triumph to Africa. Thus were all Majorianus's preparations defeated, and the Romans were once more under a neceſſity of concluding a peace with the Vandals †.

457. Genſeric wages war againſt the emperors Majorianus and Leo.

* Idat. Vict. Vit. † Idat. Procop.

BUT

461. But this peace was not of long continuance; for Majorianus having been depoſed by Ricimer in 461, and ſoon after put to death, the army declared Libius Severus emperor; when Genſeric thought himſelf no longer tied down to the late treaty, but ſent a powerful fleet to plunder the coaſts of Sicily and Italy, and even made himſelf maſter of Sardinia. At the ſame time Olybrius having married Placidia, and thereby contracted an alliance with the regal houſe of the Vandals, Genſeric uſed his endeavours to advance that prince to the imperial throne. He had likewiſe another pretence; for he demanded Eudoxia's inheritance from the emperor Valentinian. In the mean while, the emperor Severus dying, Leo advanced a Greek named Anthemicus to the empire of the Weſt; and they entered into a treaty to purſue the war againſt the Vandals with their united forces. Genſeric was no ſooner informed of this ſtep, than he diſpatched a ſtrong ſquadron to ravage Peloponneſus and the
468. Greek iſlands. Leo reſolving to revenge the affront offered by Genſeric to the Eaſtern empire, made vaſt preparations to carry on the war in Africa. The fleet he equipped on this occaſion is ſaid to have been as numerous as that of Xerxes, and deemed invincible. The command of it was conferred on Baſiliſcus, brother to Verina, the emperor's conſort. Sardinia and Tripolis were at firſt recovered from the Vandals; but the Roman fleet in Africa was intirely defeated. It is pretended, that Genſeric had demanded a truce for ſettling the conditions on which he was to ſubmit to Leo; and that the Romans depending on the truce, were attacked by the Vandals in the night, and eaſily defeated. On this occaſion the Vandals are ſaid to have made uſe of fire-ſhips, and to have overwhelmed the Romans with ſhowers of darts, while the latter were buſied in extinguiſhing the flames. Baſiliſcus is alſo ſuſpected of treachery; a vulgar way of accounting for the miſcarriages of generals. The defeat of this invincible armada greatly added to the honour of the Vandals. Genſeric ſoon after reduced Sicily, Sardinia, and all the iſlands between Italy and Africa; from whence he ſent yearly fleets to ravage the coaſts of Italy, Peloponneſus, and the

Greek

Greek iſlands. But in the year 470 *, Leo, having raiſed a 470.
ſtrong army, recovered Sicily, and obtained ſome other advantages by land: in conſequence of which Genſeric agreed to a peace †, by which the dominion of the Vandals was eſtabliſhed in Africa. The remainder of Genſeric's days was ſpent in peace; yet he ſtill adhered to his ſyſtem of diſtreſſing the Roman empire on every ſide, by means of the Oſtro and Viſigoths. With theſe two nations he maintained the ſtricteſt friendſhip: this appears from a treaty between the emperor Leo and Theodoric, a Gothic prince; wherein the latter engaged to aſſiſt the Roman empire againſt all its enemies, except the Vandals.

GENSERIC at length, after a proſperous reign, in which he acquired a reputation ſuperior to any prince of his time, breathed his laſt on the 25th of January 477. He had con- 477.
quered all the Roman territories in Africa, and in ſome meaſure outlived the empire in the weſt: his arms had been crowned with a long ſeries of victories, and the ſpoils of the greateſt cities in the world, Rome and Carthage, contributed to adorn his

* Theophan.

† With reſpect to the time when this peace was ſigned, we have followed Theophanes. Others pretend that it was not concluded till the year 475, with Zeno, the ſucceſſor of Leo. The perſon ſaid to have been employed in this negociation by the Greek emperor was Severus, a ſenator of ſingular integrity. So great was the eſteem which Genſeric had for this nobleman's virtues, that upon the concluſion of the peace he ſent him very conſiderable preſents; but theſe were generouſly refuſed, and Severus declared, that the only preſent worthy of a Roman ſenator would be the delivery of the Roman captives. Genſeric was ſo ſtruck with this declaration, that he releaſed all the priſoners who had fallen to his ſhare, and permitted him to ranſom ſuch as had been divided among his army. Severus made a moſt noble uſe of the king's indulgence, and ſold all his plate and furniture by auction, to redeem the remainder of the captives. But if this peace was concluded, as it is ſaid, by the earneſt deſire of Genſeric, who was now advanced in years, and willing to leave the kingdom in peace to his ſon, it is very improbable that a reſtitution of priſoners on both ſides ſhould not be one of the articles of the treaty. It is alſo unlikely that Genſeric ſhould have ſuch a regard for Severus, and yet ſuffer him to ſell his plate and furniture by auction, when he might ſo eaſily have granted him the ſum neceſſary for the ranſom.

triumphs. He was of a middling ſtature, and lame of one foot, by a fall from his horſe: his penetration was uncommon, his taciturnity remarkable: he had an averſion to extravagance and pomp, was experienced in the art of war, and long inured to hardſhips; his courage was invincible; his abilities equal to the moſt arduous undertakings: but above all, he had a ſurprizing addreſs in conciliating the affections of the people, and ſowing diviſions among his enemies. A great ſtain, however, in this prince's character, is the perſecution of the orthodox Chriſtians in Africa. But it muſt be conſidered, that the orthodox themſelves had made uſe of compulſion in matters of religion; and this method of converting being once introduced, it was natural for the Arians, whoſe doctrine Genſeric had zealouſly embraced, to ſpirit up that prince to the enforcing of their errors. Arianiſm being now the predominant religion, none were employed at court but ſuch as profeſſed it: the orthodox were deprived of their books, and at laſt of their churches. Some were driven into exile, and others treated with greater ſeverities. The hiſtory of this perſecution, which afterwards became more rigid in the reign of Hunoric, Genſeric's ſon, was written by Victor biſhop of Vita. We have no account of Genſeric's firſt wife, yet his ſons were certainly by that marriage *.

II. HUNORIC,

The Second KING of the VANDALS in AFRICA.

477. Tranſactions under king Hunoric. GENSERIC left the Vandalic kingdom in Africa in a moſt flouriſhing condition. It comprehended all that part of Africa, from the Atlantic Ocean to Cyrene, which was formerly ſubject to the Romans. The inhabitants were of three ſorts; the ancient Mauritanians and Numidians,

* Vict. Oros. Proſper. Iſidor. Caſſiodor. Marcell. Procop.

named

named Mauri; the Roman Provincials; and the Vandals. The Vandalic kingdom likewiſe contained Sardinia, Corſica, and the Balearic iſlands. Genſeric's ſons were, Hunoric and Genſo *; to whom ſome have added Dieteric and Theodore. Hunoric ſucceeded his father in the Vandalic throne, and renewed the peace with the emperor Zeno; at whoſe requeſt he ſuffered the church of Carthage to chuſe its own biſhop. He firſt married Alfreda, the daughter of Theodoric king of the Viſigoths. This princeſs being ſuſpected of intending to poiſon, ſome ſay king Genſeric, others her own huſband, was treated with the greateſt indignity, and ſent back to her father in the manner already related. His ſecond wife was Eudoxia, daughter of the emperor Valentinian III. By this princeſs he had one ſon named Hilderic, who afterwards aſcended the throne. According to Bunau's tables he had alſo another ſon, whoſe name is unknown, and who left two ſons, Hoamer and Evageis, both murdered in priſon by Gilimer. In this prince's reign the Vandals had many quarrels with the Moors, who revolted at length, and fled for ſhelter to the mountains called Arauſius, now Auras or Oreſs, ten days journey from Carthage; and here they bid defiance to this prince and his ſucceſſors. The military diſcipline of the Vandals was now greatly upon the decline; and Hunoric's name is better known on account of his perſecuting thoſe who were not of the Arian perſuaſion, than for his martial exploits. Eudoxia his conſort left him in the year 472, and retired to Jeruſalem, where ſhe ſpent the remainder of her days in religious exerciſes. 472.

It is a ſubject of ſome ſurprize that Hunoric ſhould be ſo great a perſecutor of the true religion, after he had married Eudoxia, a daughter of the emperor Valentinian, and, as ſome pretend, had even, in his father's life-time, taken the

* That Weſlau or Viſilaus was not a ſon of Genſeric, as ſome modern writers pretend, will hereafter appear. Count Bunau takes no notice of Weſlau; but mentions a ſon named Dieteric, whom Hunoric put to death at the beginning of his reign, and Theodore, who died before Genſeric.

orthodox under his protection. But either his wife had not the poſſeſſion of his heart; or he was obliged to follow the general bent of his ſubjects, in order to ſecure himſelf on the throne; or he was naturally of a cruel diſpoſition: Sardinia at that time being in poſſeſſion of the Vandals, was generally the place to which the orthodox were baniſhed. It is ſaid by ſome
484. that he died of the plague in 484; and by the enemies of his religious tenets it is mentioned that his fleſh rotted off his bones, and was eaten up with lice.

III. GUNTHAMUND,

The Third KING of the VANDALS in AFRICA.

Reign of king Gunthamund.

AFTER the deceaſe of Hunoric, the crown did not devolve to his iſſue; but the people proceeded to an election, and choſe Gunthamund, the ſon of Genſo. This prince's reign was more favourable to the orthodox, who were reſtored to their churches, and the baniſhed biſhops recalled. We meet with a medal of this king of the Vandals, with his head on one ſide, and theſe words, D. N. REX Guntamund. On the reverſe a crown of laurel, with theſe letters, D. N. as much as to ſay, Laurea Domini noſtri. He died on the 24th of Sep-
496. tember in the year 496.

IV. THRASAMUND,

IV. THRASAMUND,

The Fourth KING of the VANDALS in AFRICA.

GUNTHAMUND was ſucceeded in 496 by his brother Thraſamund, of whom the hiſtorians of that time have given us the greateſt encomiums. He is ſaid to have poſſeſſed every accompliſhment both in perſon and mind, and to have been a particular encourager of learning. The orthodox had reaſon to expect indulgence from this prince, as he was naturally an enemy to perſecution; yet when they had violated his orders in appointing new biſhops in the room of others deceaſed, he ſhut up their churches, and baniſhed ſome of their prelates into Sardinia. He is ſaid likewiſe to have been an artful wheedler of the orthodox, ſo as to have allured more to the Arian hereſy by blandiſhments, than Genſeric and Hunoric had perverted by violence. He married Alfreda, a ſiſter of Theodoric king of the Oſtrogoths, with whom he maintained a good underſtanding, as well as with the emperor Anaſtaſius: but his court was greatly embarraſſed by a viſit from Geſalic king of the Viſigoths; which was occaſioned in the following manner:

496. Reign of king Thraſamund.

AMALARIC, the grandſon of Theodoric king of the Oſtrogoths by his daughter Theodogotha, was only five years old when he ſucceeded his father, who had been killed at the battle of Vouglé by Clovis king of France *. His ſubjects diſliking to be governed by an infant, revolted from him, and gave the crown to Geſalic, the ſon of Alaric by a concubine. Theodoric being guardian to the young prince, ſent Iba into Gaul, with a numerous army, to ſupport his grandſon. Upon Iba's approach, Geſalic fled into Spain, whither he was purſued by Iba, and obliged at length to croſs over into Africa, and take ſhelter in the court of Thraſamund king of the Vandals. This prince

* Iſidor. Procop. Maſcow.

was

was at a loſs how to behave on the occaſion: being married to Theodoric's ſiſter, he was loath to diſoblige her; on the other hand, he had an inclination to favour the unfortunate young prince; and he likewiſe thought it good policy to check the overgrown power of the Viſigoths: for if Theodoric ſhould ever happen to unite the two Gothic kingdoms, he would certainly become too formidable to the Vandals. Thraſamund therefore gave a friendly reception to Geſalic, and ſupplied him with money, which enabled him to return to Gaul: there having gained ſome of the principal nobility among the Viſigoths, and being likewiſe aſſiſted by the Franks, who were deſirous of cutting out work for Theodoric, he levied an army, and marched once more
511. into Spain. But the unhappy prince was defeated again by Iba in the neighbourhood of Barcelona; and being purſued into Gaul, was taken priſoner, and ſpent the remainder of his days in confinement. King Thraſamund by his wife Amalfreda had a ſon named Gibmund (mentioned by Procopius) whom Beliſarius defeated in the neighbourhood of Carthage: he is alſo ſaid to have had by the ſame princeſs a daughter named Amalberga, who was married to Hermanifrid king of Thuringia, and after that prince's deceaſe, to Sigiſmund king of Burgundy. But count Bunau clearly ſhews that Amalberga was not the daughter of Amalfreda by Thraſamund, but by a former huſband, an Oſtrogoth; and that after the death of Hermanfrid ſhe did not marry again, but was ſent into baniſhment, together with her children; and that the wife of Sigiſmund king of Burgundy was Oſtrogotha, the only daughter of king Theodoric. To return to king Thraſamund *, he died in the year 523; and a little before this event the Moors, who had taken up arms in the country of Tripolis, obtained a complete victory over the Vandals † ‡.

V. HILDERIC,

* Iſidor. † Iſidor. Procop. Maſcow.

‡ There is an epigram ſtill extant, which was carved over one of this king's baths. The firſt letters of each line form his name; but otherwiſe the ſenſe is very imperfect.

Tranquillo

V. HILDERIC,

The Fifth KING of the VANDALS in AFRICA.

HILDERIC, the ſon of Hunoric, aſſumed the reins of government after the death of his couſin Thraſamund. He had been a long time with his mother's relations at Conſtantinople, where he cultivated a particular friendſhip with Juſtinian, who afterwards aſcended the imperial throne. He ſhewed great lenity to the orthodox, and by ſome is ſuppoſed to have profeſſed that religion; for he recalled the baniſhed biſhops, and reſtored the churches to their former condition. We find a ſilver medal of this prince, with his image on one ſide and the following title, D. N. HILDERIC REX. On the reverſe a woman with ears of corn in both hands, and theſe words, FELIX KART. the uſual device of Africa. It is reported of this prince, that his predeceſſor and couſin Thraſamund upon his death-bed made him ſwear to ſpread the Arian perſuaſion by violence: that his pious mother Eudoxia, the wife of Hunoric, and daughter of Valentinian, not only diſſuaded him from fulfilling that oath, but diſpoſed him to embrace the orthodox religion. The latter is not at all impoſſible; ſince Eudoxia came a child

523. Reign of king Hilderic.

T ranquillo nymphæ decurrite fluminis ort	U
H ic proba flagranti ſuccedit vimine fleb	O
R upibus excelſis, ubi nunc faſtigia ſurgun	T
A equanturque polo tectis præcelſa lavacr	A
S edibus hic magnis exardent marmora ſigni	S
A rdua ſublimes prævincunt culmina therma	E
M uneraque eximius tanti dat luminis auctо	R
U ni continuæ prænoſcens præmia fama	E
N on hic flamma nocebo tandem diſcite carme	N
D iſcite vel quanta vivat ſub gurgite lymph	A
V andalicum hic renovat clarum de ſemine nome	N
S ub cujus titulo meritis ſtat gratia facti	S

Pithæus in Epigr. vet.

into

into Africa in 455, and might have been yet living at the acceſſion of her ſon to the throne; but that he ſhould be declared the undoubted ſucceſſor by his dying brother, and bound by an oath to ſpread and ſupport the Arian belief, is void of probability.

For though Procopius (de Bell. Vandal.) mentions a teſtamentary diſpoſition of Genſeric, in virtue of which the eldeſt of the blood royal ſhould always ſucceed to the crown, yet we cannot help thinking that in this reſpect the above-mentioned hiſtorian was miſtaken, ſince this was a circumſtance inconſiſtent with the old laws and conſtitution of the Vandalic Germans. Neither was it afterwards obſerved by thoſe of Africa that always one brother ſhould inherit after the other, as appears from the preſent example; for otherwiſe Gilimer muſt have immediately ſucceeded Thraſamund; and even purſuant to that teſtament Hilderic himſelf ought to have aſcended the throne upon the death of Hunoric, ſince Hunoric's brothers were dead, and Gunthamund had no right before Hilderic. We are therefore inclined to think that the ſucceſſion of the crown did not depend upon the nomination of their kings, but on that of the people; otherwiſe neither Thraſamund nor Gunthamund but Hilderic would have ſucceeded immediately to Hunoric. Beſides, Thraſamund would not have nominated Hilderic his ſucceſſor, but his brother or his nephew Gilimer, or rather his ſon Gibmund: and even had Genſeric made any ſuch regulation, it is probable the reigning kings would have broke through it for the advantage of their children.

It may however be allowed as probable, that Hilderic upon his acceſſion took a coronation oath, as having been hitherto externally an Arian, to maintain that perſuaſion: for it is not unlikely that the Vandals bound their kings by a kind of capitulation, which they were obliged to follow in the exerciſe of their regal office. The Romans might have heard ſome report of this oath, and miſtaken the true meaning of it; ſince they were likewiſe in an error in believing that the crown was always

hereditary

hereditary among uncivilized nations. Be that as it may, I think we have diſcovered the reaſon for which Hilderic, the only ſon of Hunoric, was twice ſet aſide by the voice of the people; and after he had been choſen at length at the third election, was dethroned and put to death. This is to be intirely imputed to the zeal the Vandals had for their religious tenets: the whole nation were Arians; but he, even in his younger days, lay under a ſuſpicion of having imbibed different principles from his mother Eudoxia. He might indeed have endeavoured to remove that ſuſpicion by an external conformity; and though the ancient hiſtorians, taking his character from his enemies, repreſent him as a weak and puſillanimous prince, yet he probably was poſſeſſed of many amiable qualifications, which ſeem to have induced the Vandals at length to chooſe him for their king, on condition he ſhould endeavour to maintain and propagate their religion. His mother Eudoxia might have repreſented the injuſtice of ſuch a coronation oath; and perhaps prevailed with him to protect and countenance the orthodox, ſo as to put them upon the ſame footing with the Arians: this, without doubt, occaſioned the forming of parties againſt him, which ended in a confederacy, headed by Gilimer, whereby he was deprived of his crown and his life *.

AMALFRIDA the queen-dowager, perceiving the king's diſpoſition to favour the orthodox, raiſed an inſurrection, by means of thoſe Oſtrogoths who had attended her to Africa: an engagement enſuing in the neighbourhood of Capſa †, the Goths were routed, and the queen herſelf was taken priſoner. She was afterwards put to death by order of king Hilderic; and Athalaric king of the Goths threatened to revenge her cauſe. This princeſs had made friends among the Moors, who promiſed to aſſiſt her with their whole force. Hilderic being old and averſe to war, left the management of it to Hoamer,

* Procop. Victor. Iſidor. Bunau. † Formerly a famous city in the neighbourhood of Byzacena.

his brother's ſon: but the Moors obtained a complete victory over the Vandals in Byzacena. Under theſe circumſtances a prince of ſuch a pacific diſpoſition as Hilderic had reaſon to be afraid of his kinſman Gilimer, who was next heir to the crown, and known to be of a turbulent diſpoſition. This prince cauſed a report to be ſpread among the Vandals, that Hilderic intended to render Africa ſubject to the Grecian emperor, in order to keep his own family upon the throne, in prejudice to the eldeſt of the blood-royal, who had an undoubted right to it after Hilderic's deceaſe. The report gaining credit, in conſequence of the intimacy between Hilderic and Juſtinian, Gilimer was proclaimed king in 530 *: his adherents poſſeſſed themſelves of the city of Carthage, and ſeized king Hilderic, with his two nephews,
530. Hoamer and Edemer; the former of whom was, by Gilimer's command, immediately deprived of his ſight †.

VI. GILIMER,

The Sixth and Laſt KING of the VANDALS in AFRICA.

Reign of Gilimer.

HISTORIANS are at ſome variance concerning Gilimer. Some make him the brother of Thraſamund, and ſon of Genzo; while others call him the ſon of Gelaris, and grandſon of Genzo, which conſequently makes him a nephew of Thraſamund. The latter ſeems more probable, otherwiſe he muſt have been advanced in years when he engaged in the revolt againſt Hilderic; whereas from the nature of the attempt he was moſt probably at that time in the vigour of life. Be that as

* Some pretend that this revolution was the conſequence of a battle, in which Hilderic was defeated and taken priſoner.

† Procop. Iſidor. Vict. Vit. Bunau, Maſcow.

it

it may, it is certain that Gilimer, after the death of Thrasamund, pretended to have a better right to the throne of the Vandals, as brother and next of kin to that prince, than Hilderic, a more distant relation.

Dissolution of the kingdom of the Vandals in Africa.

As soon as the news of Hilderic's misfortune had reached Constantinople, Justinian espoused the cause of the captive king, his old acquaintance and friend. The emperor Justin died in 527, and Justinian, his successor, found the empire in a most flourishing condition. He was not skilled himself in the art of war; but he had a well-disciplined army, under excellent officers, whose bravery had rendered them formidable to the Persians. He first sent a deputation to Gilimer, with a request that he would set his uncle and lawful sovereign at liberty; and upon meeting with a refusal, he made this a foundation for war. At the same time he published a kind of manifesto, importing that it was not his intention to break the peace concluded with the Vandals, but to restore their lawful king to the throne. However his design was manifested in a much clearer manner by the event. The management of the war having been committed to the celebrated Belisarius, a fleet was equipped in 533, consisting of 500 sail, on board of which 10,000 foot-soldiers and 5000 horse were embarked. With this fleet Belisarius having set sail, reached the eastern coasts of Sicily not far from mount Ætna, touched at the islands of Gozzo and Malta, and landed the 15th of September in Africa, without opposition, within five days journey eastward from Carthage.

The Vandals were now greatly declined from their ancient valour and military discipline. The softness of the climate had disposed them to luxury, and they were enervated like Hannibal's soldiers at Capua. A long peace with the Romans and Goths had thrown them into a state of effeminacy: instead of attending to their marine, and to the military art, their minds were intirely taken up with splendid villas, baths, banquets, and public spectacles. Gilimer was at that time at Hermione, a city in the district of Byzacena, and had but just be-

fore dispatched his brother Tzazo, with a body of troops, to quell an insurrection in Sardinia. Belisarius having marched directly to Carthage, Gilimer sent an order to his brother Ammatas, whom he had left in that capital, to put king Hilderic and his principal adherents immediately to death. He then made preparations to attack Belisarius on his march to Carthage; but his measures were unluckily disconcerted. He had divided his army into three parts; his nephew Gibamund he ordered to march before him to the left with 2000 men; Ammatas his brother was to move from Carthage to the right; and he himself followed with the main body. On the other hand, Belisarius, posting himself in the center, ordered John of Dyrrachium to march before him with the vanguard, and the Massagetæ to advance to the left. But Ammatas was too precipitate in his attack: he had the misfortune to be killed in the action, and the troops under his command betook themselves to flight. Gibamund fell in with the Massagetæ, and died valiantly sword in hand. All this while Gilimer was advancing with the main body of the army, and endeavoured to reach an eminence, where he might post himself to an advantage. Here he found the van of the Roman army, consisting of the allied troops, who fled at his approach, and did not stop till they came up to Belisarius. Had Gilimer improved this advantage, and pursued the Romans while they were in such a consternation, it is more than probable that Belisarius would have given way; at least this is the opinion of Procopius, who was present at the action. But instead of pursuing the enemy, he lost time in venting his sorrow for the loss of his brother, and interring that prince's dead body. This gave Belisarius an opportunity to rally the fugitive allies, and to lead them on with fresh vigour. Finding the Vandals unprepared, he soon threw them into confusion, and gained a complete victory. Gilimer fled towards Bulla, on the borders of Numidia, but the imperial army marched on to Carthage: the inhabitants of that city opened their gates, and Belisarius making his entry the day following, dined in the royal palace on the very provisions which had been prepared for king Gilimer.

mer. The Roman general ſuffered no violence to be offered to the Vandals who took ſhelter in the churches; only he obliged them to ſurrender themſelves priſoners.

DURING this interval Tzazo had quelled the inſurrection in Sardinia; when haſtening back to Africa, he joined his brother Gilimer at Bulla *. Here they aſſembled their whole force; and Gilimer having determined to beſiege the Imperialiſts in Carthage, with which city he kept a correſpondence, Beliſarius marched out to meet him. An engagement enſued, about the middle of December 533, at Tricamaro in the neighbourhood of Carthage, where Gilimer was intirely defeated, his whole army diſperſed, and Tzazo loſt his life. The Romans made themſelves maſters of the enemy's camp, and found an immenſe booty. Gilimer having eſcaped to the city of Medenus in Numidia, ſituated on the top of a very ſteep hill, Beliſarius ordered Pharas, general of the Heruli, to block him up, while he himſelf was employed in ſubduing the ſeveral towns along the ſea-coaſt. During this ſiege, which laſted three months, Gilimer and his adherents ſuffered unſpeakable hardſhips: to add to his misfortune, a ſhip in which he had embarked the moſt valuable of his treaſures, intending to make his eſcape into Spain, fell into the hands of Beliſarius. In this diſtreſs it is ſaid that Gilimer intreated Pharas to grant him three things; ſome bread, a ſponge, and a harp; the firſt to ſatisfy his hunger, the ſecond to wipe off his tears, and the third to diſpel his melancholy. At length he was obliged to ſurrender to Pharas, who had promiſed that the emperor would create him a patrician, and grant him a conſiderable eſtate, for the ſupport of himſelf and his family. When he appeared before Beliſarius †, he burſt out into a loud laughter, to ſhew that he was not dejected at his reverſe of fortune. The Roman general returned directly to Conſtantinople, where he made a ſplendid entry; and Gilimer himſelf, cloathed in purple, with a long train of the principal nobility of the Vandals, was obliged to decorate the proceſſion. The coſtly ſpoils that had

533.

* Bulla Regia, now Beje, in the kingdom of Tunis. † Procop.

been

been taken from the Vandals, particularly the riches of which Genſeric ſtripped the city of Rome, and among the reſt the veſſels of the temple of Jeruſalem, which Titus found in that capital of Judea, were all diſplayed at this ſplendid triumph. Gilimer upon entering the circus, where the emperor and his conſort were ſeated, and beholding the magnificent exhibition of courtly pageantry, could not forbear expreſſing himſelf ſeveral times in theſe words of Solomon, Vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas. Upon approaching the imperial throne, he was obliged to lay aſide the purple, and to proſtrate himſelf at Juſtinian's feet *. After this ſubmiſſion he had a conſiderable eſtate aſſigned to him in Galatia, to which he retired with his family. Hilderic's daughters were provided for at court, out of reſpect to Eudoxia his mother, who was a daughter of the emperor Valentinian III. The captive Vandals were ſent to the cities in the eaſt, where they were diſtinguiſhed by the name of Vandali Juſtinianei, and did great ſervice againſt the Perſians. In conſequence of this revolution Juſtinian aſſumed the pompous titles of Alanicus, Vandalicus, and Africanus †.

Such was the end of the kingdom of the Vandals in Africa, after it had ſubſiſted 117 years from its firſt foundation under Genſeric. Procopius conſiders it as one of the greateſt revolutions in hiſtory, that with 5000 horſe (for Beliſarius could only make uſe of his cavalry) ſo potent a monarchy ſhould be ſo quickly overthrown, and both king and people carried into captivity. But when we reflect on what has been before mentioned, that theſe people had been enervated by luxury, and loſt their ancient valour and diſcipline, a great part of our wonder ceaſes: to which if we add, that they were alſo involved in civil diſcord, this revolution is eaſily accounted for, without having recourſe to the Divine judgments to puniſh them for their errors in religion, or their manifold iniquities. In this cataſtrophe of the Vandalic kingdom, the

* Procop. † Ibid.

prophecy

prophecy was fulfilled which is ſaid to have been long known at Carthage; viz. G. fugabit B.---B. fugabit G. The firſt G and B are Genſeric and Boniface; the others Beliſarius and Gilimer. But whether this prediction was more ancient than the event, we queſtion very much, and mention it only on the authority of Procopius.

CHAP. V.

Of the KINGS of the VANDALS on the Baltic Coaſt, from 405 to 670, and the extinction of the Kingdom of the VANDALS.

Reign of Corſico. Tranſactions of the Vandals under Fredebald. Expedition of Odoacer into Italy. Hiſtory of the Heruli. Diſſolution of the Weſtern Empire. War between Odoacer and Theodoric king of the Oſtrogoths. Tragical end of Odoacer. Remainder of the hiſtory of the Heruli. The hiſtory of the Vandals continued. The Vandalic kingdom on the Baltic diſſolved.

XV. CORSICO,

The Fifteenth KING of the VANDALS.

Reign of Corſico.

WE return now to the branch of the Vandalic princes who remained in Germany, or to the kingdom of that nation upon the Baltic. It has been already mentioned (cap. 3.) that after the death of Rhadagaſtus, Corſico and his brother Godegiſilus ſucceeded to the kingdom of the Vandals. But it is highly probable that the regal dignity belonged to Corſico only; and his brother Godegiſilus ſeems to have acted under him as a prince intruſted with the command of his armies. At the head of theſe forces he penetrated into Gaul and Spain; while his

brother Corſico, or, as others call him, Crocus or Cruſco, continued in the quiet poſſeſſion of the Vandalic kingdom on the Baltic. With regard to the duration of this prince's reign, or his tranſactions either in peace or war, we cannot affirm any thing with certainty; ſince in this intricate labyrinth we have not the clue of ancient hiſtorians to guide us. Various are the accounts concerning the time of Corſico's death. Some * inſiſt that he reigned 49 years, and did not breathe his laſt till 454 †; others pretend that he was taken priſoner and put to death in 409 in Gaul, after he had ravaged that province. Should this have been really the year of his deceaſe, his untimely end, together with the great diſtance of his army from their mother country, might have induced Godegiſilus to ſeparate himſelf, with the troops under his command, from the reſt of the Vandals, and to aſſume the ſovereignty of the conquered provinces. But if Corſico's reign was of a longer duration, it is highly probable that ſuch a ſeparation was made with this prince's approbation and conſent.

It appears very plain that Corſico is miſtaken by ſome ‡ writers for the German or Aleman Crocus, who, according to Gregory of Tours and others, performed his exploits in the time of Gallienus, and met with the untimely fate attributed to our Corſico or Crocus §. The wife of Corſico is ſaid to have been a princeſs called Flora, by whom he had a ſon known by the name of Fredebald. But for this we have no good authority.

* Marſhal. † Latom. Chemn. Kluver. ‡ Latom. Kluv. Chemn. § See count Bunau.

XVI. FREDEBALD,

XVI. FREDEBALD,

The Sixteenth KING of the VANDALS.

CORSICO tranſmitted the crown to his ſon Fredebald, under whom the glory and reputation of the Vandals began to decline. And yet this prince is ſaid to have made incurſions againſt the Romans, in the beginning of his reign, with great ſucceſs; but his power at length was conſiderably reduced, by the deſertion of the generals employed in thoſe expeditions. Having gained the affections of the ſoldiery, by a long exerciſe of command, they were tempted to throw off their allegiance, and to erect independent ſovereignties. A conduct ſo diſloyal in his lieutenants obliged Fredebald to relinquiſh his conqueſts, and to retire within the ancient boundary of the Vandals; a precaution which now became the more neceſſary, as the other German tribes began to lift up their heads, and to aim at conqueſts, particularly the Franks, the Thuringians, and the Boii. Another event which contributed to the declenſion of the Vandalic monarchy, was the captivity of this prince, which happened in 417. The circumſtances of that unfortunate tranſaction are not mentioned in hiſtory: we are only informed that he was taken priſoner by Conſtantius, one of the generals under Honorius, without fighting a blow, and by an artful ſtratagem *. Some pretend that his confinement continued 32 years, viz. till 449, when he is ſaid to have departed this life. But it is highly improbable that it ſhould have been of ſuch long duration, if we conſider the great revolutions which happened in the Roman empire under the weak adminiſtrations of Honorius and Valentinian. Beſides it would have been impoſſible for the Vandals to have carried on

Tranſactions of the Vandals under Fredebald.

* Fridibaldum, regem gentis Vandalorum, ſine ullo certamine ingenioſe captum, Conſtantius ad imperatorem Honorium deſtinat. Idat. ad. ann. Honor. xxii.

their incurſions with ſuch ſucceſs at this very period againſt the Romans, if the kingdom on the Baltic had been without a head, and their ſovereign condemned to languiſh in ſo long a captivity: for that Gunderic and Genſeric could eſtabliſh new empires in ſuch diſtant countries as Spain and Africa, and at the ſame time maintain their authority in Germany, as ſome authors pretend, is beyond all probability. This event, however, ſeems to have been the ſource of Fredebald's misfortunes, and to have encouraged the other German tribes to ſeparate from the Vandals. But the Heruli are ſtill ſuppoſed to have continued under his juriſdiction; and with his conſent or direction Ottacar or Odoacer, a prince of that nation, is ſaid to have made himſelf maſter of Italy. Be that as it may, ſince the Heruli are very juſtly conſidered as a tribe of the Vandals, it will not be reckoned a digreſſion to give a more particular account of thoſe people, and of the great revolution which they atchieved, namely, the ſubverſion of the Weſtern empire.

Expedition of Odoacer into Italy.

History of the Heruli.

THAT the Heruli were a tribe of the Vandals, has been already obſerved in the beginning of this book. Their name is of uncertain derivation: by ſome they are ſaid to have taken it from the ancient town of Werle in the neighbourhood of Schwan upon the river Warnow *. Others pretend that they were ſo called from the Greek word Hele, ſignifying marſhy grounds; and that ſuch were the lands theſe people inhabited when they removed from their own country to the neighbourhood of the Palus Mæotis †. In regard to the affairs of this nation, very

* Some will have it, on the other hand, that the town of Werle derived its name from the Heruli.

† We ſhall obſerve here with the learned Leibnitz, that ancient writers, not well acquainted with the geography of diſtant nations, were apt to confound the Baltic Sea with the Palus Mæotis: agreeably to which, Adam of Bremen ſays, Arbitror mutatis nominibus illud fretum ab antiquis Romanis appellari paludes Scythicas vel Mæoticas. We muſt therefore be determined by the authority of Tacitus, who expreſsly affirms, that the Suevian and Vandalic nations, of whom the Heruli were a branch, lived on the Baltic coaſt. This obſervation is alſo applicable to Procopius, who pretends that the Vandals were ſeated on the Palus Mæotis;

very little is known, except what relates to their wars with the Romans. We are told indeed that they had two extraordinary cuſtoms; one, that perſons ſuperannuated, or afflicted with infirmities, uſed to deſire their neareſt relations to put an end to their miſery. In conſequence of which they were laid on a pile of wood, where they were firſt killed by a ſtranger, and then the pile was ſet on fire. Another was, that wives were obliged to ſtrangle themſelves at the funeral of their huſbands, on pain of infamy and diſhonour. This practice is alſo related of the Venedi and ſome other nations, and ſhews the tyranny of imagination, in ſubduing even the natural deſire of life. As for their morals, they are accuſed of lewdneſs and debauchery; but this accuſation comes from their enemies, whoſe accounts ought always to be read with ſome allowance. Their religion was that of the other German nations; and ſometimes they appeaſed their deities with human ſacrifices. They were of a martial temper, and remarkable for their agility; which was the reaſon of their being frequently employed as light-armed troops by other nations. They firſt began their incurſions againſt the empire in 256, the fourth year of Valerian's reign; 256.
but were ſoon repulſed by Gallienus, that emperor's ſon and collegue. Eleven years after they paſſed from the Mæotic Lake 267.
into the Euxine Sea with a fleet of 500 ſail, and croſſing the Boſphorus, committed great ravages in Aſia and Greece; but were defeated a ſecond time by Gallienus near the city of Naiſſus in Mæſia. On this occaſion their general, named Naulobatus, was taken priſoner; but Gallienus, to gain the affection of that nation, treated him with great humanity, and even honoured him with the dignity of conſul. The army of the Heruli then ſurrendered on good conditions, and were formed into a militia,

tis; yet he affirms that the Warini or Werni, who are known to have been a Vandalic tribe, were a Tranſdanubian nation ſeated on the North Sea. De Bello Goth. lib. iv. But the Romans in particular had ſo little intercourſe with the Palus Mæotis, that Procopius acknowledges he could not exactly deſcribe the extent of the Euxine Sea from Conſtantinople to the Palus Mæotis; becauſe the barbarians beyond the Danube prevented the Romans from having any acceſs to thoſe countries. De Bell. Vand. lib. i. c. 1.

which afterwards ſerved under the banners of the Romans. Soon after this event, the Heruli entered into a confederacy with the Goths and other northern nations againſt the emperor Claudius; and a battle enſuing, the Romans obtained a complete victory. In the reign of Dioclesian the Heruli joining the Chaibones *, penetrated into Gaul, and committed great ravages in the provinces bordering on the Rhine. But Maximian having been intruſted by Dioclesian with the command of that province, marched againſt the enemy, and gave them
336. a total overthrow †. Not long after the acceſſion of the emperor Valentinian I. the Alemanni invaded Gaul, defeated the Romans, and took the ſtandards of the Batavians and the Heruli: the latter are ſaid to have made a ſeparate body among the auxiliaries in the Roman army ſince the reign of Gallienus.

THE Heruli were obliged, ſoon after, to pay a yearly tribute to Ermanaric king of the Oſtrogoths; and they underwent the ſame fate again, when Attila, having ſubdued the other northern nations, compelled theſe people to join his army in Gaul. Upon the death of that prince they recovered their liberty; and entering into an alliance with the Romans, ſerved under their own commanders in the Imperial armies ‡. This was attended with a conſiderable change in the diſcipline of the Roman forces, and contributed chiefly to the extinction of that empire. In former times the Romans would never ſuffer the number of auxiliaries to exceed that of their own nation: but this proportion was not afterwards obſerved; their armies were not

* Claudius Mamertinus in his Panegyric calls theſe people afterwards Caviones. Cluverius, with great probability, ſuppoſes them to have been the ſame nation whom Tacitus de mor. Ger. c. 40. diſtinguiſhes by the name of Aviones, and places in the neighbourhood of the Angli and Varini. Hence it appears that they were alſo a branch of the Vandals, and that they dwelt, like the Heruli, on the Eaſt Sea or Sinus Codanus.

† Notwithſtanding the many defeats which thoſe northern nations received, according to the accounts of the Roman hiſtorians, yet, as Tacitus confeſſes, it is very likely that Rome celebrated more triumphs at home than ſhe obtained victories abroad.

‡ Procop. de Bell. Goth. Jorn. de Reb. Goth. Zos. Amm. Marc.

only

only joined by large bodies of northern allies, but even the cohorts and legions were filled with recruits from thoſe countries. Thus they deviated from their ancient policy of reſerving the knowledge of the military art to themſelves; a knowledge which had hitherto rendered them triumphant over ſo many civilized and barbarous nations. But enervated by luxury, they began to neglect the art of war, and to intruſt the defence of their frontiers to foreign auxiliaries. In proceſs of time theſe auxiliaries proved the very worſt of enemies; and being inſenſibly grown more numerous and more powerful than the Romans, undertook to diſpoſe of the Imperial crown, and at length intirely ſubverted the Weſtern empire.

475. Diſſolution of the Weſtern empire.

THE emperor Julius Nepos appointed Oreſtes, a native of Pannonia, commander of the Roman forces in Gaul; but inſtead of haſtening to that country, Oreſtes directed his march towards Ravenna, with a view of depoſing Nepos, whom he knew to be incapable of making any reſiſtance. The emperor at his approach retired by ſea to Dalmatia; upon which Oreſtes cauſed his own ſon Romulus Auguſtus, in deriſion called Auguſtulus, to be elected to the imperial dignity. This prince being very young, his father took upon him the adminiſtration. The year following the northern nations, and particularly the Heruli, the Scyrri, and the Rugi, who ſerved as allies in the Roman armies, inſiſted upon the third part of the lands in Italy, as a reward for their ſervices. Oreſtes refuſing to comply, they openly revolted, and choſe Odoacer for their leader. Some modern writers pretend that this was king Fredebald's general or lieutenant on the frontiers, where he acted as the ſervice of his ſovereign either in Gaul or Germany required: that at firſt he made war and then treated with the Romans in the name of his maſter; but that Fredebald having too much buſineſs on his hands in Germany to attend any longer to the conduct of his generals in diſtant countries, Odoacer availed himſelf of the opportunity to deſert his ſovereign and become independent: that Fredebald, or rather his ſon Viſilaus,

unable

unable to prevent this ſtep, was obliged to conſent to it. But this is unſupported by the authority of ancient hiſtorians. According to Ennodius, Odoacer was only a private ſoldier in the emperor's guards when he was raiſed to the chief command. This ſeems, however, very improbable; and though perhaps he might have come, as ſome pretend, in a mean condition into Italy, it is extremely probable, that at the time of this inſurrection he was an officer of ſome rank in the army. He is ſaid to have been a man of extraordinary parts, equally fit for the field or the cabinet: upon the whole he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſuch a manner by his military ſervices, as to be deemed worthy of the purple. The Roman troops being greatly inferior to the revolted auxiliaries, Oreſtes took refuge in Pavia, where he was beſieged and made priſoner by Odoacer, who ordered him to be carried to Placentia, and put to death. Auguſtulus fell alſo into the hands of the ſame general at Ravenna; but his youth and comely appearance ſo far raiſed the victor's compaſſion, that he only diveſted him of the enſigns of the imperial dignity, and confined him to Lucullanum, a fortreſs in Campania, where he was treated with great humanity. Rome ſubmitted to the conqueror, who was ſatisfied with the regal title *, but would not aſſume the purple, or any other enſign of the imperial dignity. It has been obſerved by moſt writers, that the empire began with Auguſtus and ended in Auguſtulus.

ODOACER conducted himſelf in his proſperity with great moderation, and was content with the ſovereign power, without affecting the pageantry of grandeur. Though an Arian he did not perſecute the orthodox, but on the contrary favoured them with ſeveral privileges. Having declared war againſt the Rugians, a people of Germany on the Baltic Sea, he defeated them in battle, took their king Felethus or Feba priſoner, together with his wife Giſa, and ſent them to Italy. Their ſon

* Some apprehend this title related only to thoſe German nations who choſe him for their chief, and others to all Italy.

Frederick

Frederick fled to Mæſia, where he applied for ſuccour to Theodorick king of the Oſtrogoths.

War between Odoacer and Theodoric king of the Oſtrogoths.

THIS prince is ſaid to have been adviſed by the emperor Zeno to turn his arms againſt Odoacer, and to reſcue Italy out of the hands of the Heruli. But whether it was intended by Zeno that Theodoric ſhould reincorporate Italy with the empire, or take poſſeſſion of it himſelf as an independent government, is very uncertain. The Greeks pretend the former, the Goths the latter. Theodoric, after a long and fatiguing march, entered Italy; and Odoacer attempting to oppoſe his paſſage, came to an engagement on the river Iſonzo, when victory declared itſelf in Theodoric's favour. Odoacer being cloſe purſued, rallied his troops near Verona, where he was again attacked by Theodoric, and fortune proved unpropitious to him a ſecond time. He was now compelled to fly to Ravenna; but finding himſelf ſoon after reinforced, by the deſertion of part of Theodoric's army, he advanced as far as Milan, and Theodoric was forced to take ſhelter in Pavia. Here this Gothic prince had not been long confined when powerful ſuccours arrived from the Viſigoths in Gaul: upon which he took the field again; and a bloody engagement enſuing, the 11th of Auguſt, on the Adda, he remained a third time triumphant. Odoacer was obliged once more to ſhut himſelf up in Ravenna, where he was beſieged by his rival. The ſiege laſted two years, and at length the city was obliged to ſurrender for want of proviſions. A capitulation, however, was ſigned, with the conditions of which we are not rightly acquainted; but it is to be preſumed that they were moſt advantageous to Theodoric. Some part of the government was reſerved to Odoacer; but Theodoric's ambition could not be ſatisfied without the whole, which having in vain as yet attempted by arms, he obtained at length by treachery. Unmindful of his oath, he invited Odoacer to a banquet, where he diſpatched him with his own hand; and Thelanes his ſon, his kindred, and chief adherents, were the ſame day inhumanly maſſacred. The Gothic hiſtorians pretend, in juſtification of Theodoric, that

Tragical end of Odoacer.

Odoacer

Odoacer had formed a deſign againſt his life; but the dead are always found guilty, and it ſeems that this ſuſpicion was intirely groundleſs. This inhuman maſſacre put an end to the new kingdom of the Heruli in 493, after it had laſted eighteen years from the depoſition of Auguſtulus †.

493.

Remainder of the hiſtory of the Heruli.

NOTWITHSTANDING this revolution, the Heruli in Germany ſtill preſerved a good underſtanding with the Goths, as appears from ſeveral treaties between them and Euricus king of the Viſigoths, who adopted their ſovereign for his ſon and ſucceſſor. This ſeems to be Rudolphus, a prince who having ſubdued ſeveral barbarous nations in the reign of Anaſtaſius, was overperſuaded by his people to make war againſt the Longobards, from whom he had received not the leaſt provocation. But the Heruli were defeated by an enemy whom they had held in contempt, and their king was ſlain in the engagement. In conſequence of this misfortune they were obliged to leave their country a prey to the conquerors, and fled for ſhelter to the Gepidæ, who dwelt farther eaſtward in Dacia, and from whom they met with a very kind reception *. But a war afterwards breaking out in that country, they were again obliged to purſue their march; and with the permiſſion of the emperor Anaſtaſius they paſſed the Danube, and ſettled in Thrace and Illyricum. Here they had not long reſided when they began to quarrel with the ancient inhabitants; and complaints being made by the latter to Anaſtaſius, he ordered the troops quartered in the neighbouring provinces to march to their aſſiſtance. On this occaſion the greateſt part of the Heruli were cut to pieces, and the reſt, having recourſe to the clemency of the emperor, were ſpared, and ſuffered to continue in the ſame provinces. Juſtinian ſoon after made a treaty with them, by which they obtained the country of Servia, on condition of aſſiſting him in his wars; and accordingly they ſerved in the Roman armies

† Ennod. Procop. Caſſidor.

* This according to Procopius; but Jornandes ſays that the Heruli were expelled by the Danes, and that their king Rudolphus was obliged to fly for ſhelter to Italy, where he met with a kind reception from Theodoric.

againſt

againſt the Perſians, Vandals, and Goths; particularly againſt the Perſians they performed moſt ſignal exploits. Soon after, falling into a riotous ſtate, they murdered their king Ochos, and reſolved to throw off all ſubjection; but finding the inconveniences of anarchy, and the neceſſity of reſigning a part of their freedom for the ſecure enjoyment of the remainder, they had recourſe again to their ancient form of government. Deſirous of having a prince of the royal line, they ſent ambaſſadors to the Heruli who were removed further northwards, with orders to chooſe a prince of the ſame family. Accordingly they pitched upon one; but this prince dying by the way, they returned and choſe another, named Todaſius, who immediately ſet out for Thrace, attended by a numerous retinue. The Heruli in the mean time ſuſpecting, from the long ſtay of the ambaſſadors, that they had met with ſome misfortune, applied for a king to the emperor Juſtinian. This prince readily complied with their requeſt, and conferred this dignity on Suartuas, an eminent Herulus, who had lived a conſiderable time at Conſtantinople. The Heruli ſeemed to be well pleaſed with their new ſovereign; but no ſooner received information of the approach of Todaſius, attended by the ambaſſadors, than they revolted from Suartuas, who was obliged to retire to Conſtantinople. The emperor, incenſed at this behaviour, threatened to reſtore him by force; but the Gepidæ eſpouſing the cauſe of the new king, and the Imperial troops being then employed againſt the Oſtrogoths in Italy, he thought proper, for ſome time, to conceal his reſentment. At the expiration of the war in Italy, he turned his arms againſt the Heruli and their allies the Gepidæ, and drove both nations quite out of the empire. He was afterwards reconciled to the Heruli; and we find them ſerving in his armies with reputation, and numbers of them converted to the Chriſtian religion. But their kingdom declined from that time; and the whole nation, ſoon after, became totally extinct *.

* Zos. Jornand. rer. Goth. Ammian. Marcell. Procop. de Bello Goth. Agathias.

XVII. WISLAU or VISILAUS II.

The Seventeenth KING of the VANDALS.

History of the Vandals continued.

VISILAUS II. ſucceeded his father Fredebald * in the kingdom of the Vandals on the Baltic. This nation, whoſe power had riſen to ſo high a pitch in Germany, began now to feel the natural inſtability of all human governments. Their territories were gradually contracted, and they were obliged to draw back to their old limits between the Elbe and the Viſtula. This revolution was owing to their own frequent migrations, and to the incurſions of the Saxons, Franks, and Thuringians.

THE name of this prince ſeems to give ground for a ſuſpicion that he was rather of Venedic than Vandalic extraction; and according to ſome modern writers †, the Venedi began to ſettle in this country in 451, before the death of Fredebald; but this is contradicted by others ‡. It is however moſt probable that the Vandalic kingdom did not come to a period ſo early, though the Slavi or Venedi had already begun to intermix with that nation §. Wiſlau is ſaid to have died in 486, and his wife to have been Adolla, the daughter of a Saxon king ‖.

* Some modern hiſtorians make Wiſlau the ſon of Genſeric in Africa; and Latomus particularly mentions, that after the death of Fredebald, Genſeric ſent Gundamund, the ſon of Gunderic, to govern the Vandals in Germany; and that he was afterwards followed by his own ſon Wiſlaw, to whom at length he reſigned the Vandalic kingdom on the Baltic in 470. But it appears more probable that Wiſlaw was the ſon of Fredebald, ſince the latter remained in Germany; and the Vandals in that country would hardly have choſen a prince whoſe father had deſerted them, and erected an independent kingdom.

† Latomus, Chemn. Kluver. ‡ Spener & Hubner. § Concerning theſe, ſee Bunau. ‖ Kluver, Nettlebladt.

XVIII. ALARICUS II.

XVIII. ALARICUS II. died in 507.
XIX. ALBERICUS II. died in 526.
XX. JOHANNES, died in 570.
XXI. RHADAGASTUS II. *

KINGS of the VANDALS.

OF theſe princes we know no more than their names: their tranſactions, either for want of hiſtorians, or from their inſignificancy, are buried in oblivion. The Vandalic kingdom was haſtening towards its decline; and that powerful nation, which had overwhelmed the Roman empire, now found it difficult to maintain its ground in the ancient boundaries on the Baltic. At this period it was that the Slavi or Venedi began their migration, and extending themſelves in Bohemia, Poland, Moravia, Lithuania, and on the Baltic coaſt, erected powerful kingdoms.

WITH regard to the names of three of the above-mentioned kings, they are doubtleſs Vandalic; a plain argument that the ancient royal line, perhaps that of the Aſdingi, was ſtill upon the throne, though their ſubjects, at this time, were chiefly Venedi. John indeed is not a Vandalic name; and this perhaps might have given riſe to the opinion that this prince had embraced the Chriſtian religion. But we are rather apt to think that the Chriſtian writers in ſucceeding times formed this name out of that of Hans, an old German word, from Hanſa, an alliance, whence the Hanſe towns are derived; but this is only conjecture.

IN order to conclude this part of our hiſtory, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that with the above Rhadagaſtus II. the kingdom of the Vandals on the Baltic came to a final period, about the year 640. In what manner this revolution was effected, may be a ſubject of uſeful inquiry, as it muſt ſtrike a particular light into the hiſtory of the Venedic princes, who governed that country after the extinction of the kingdom of the Vandals.

* The year of his death is uncertain.

The kingdom of the Vandals diſſolved.

THAT the country of Vandalia, or the German coaſt along the Baltic, was greatly drained of inhabitants about this period, is more than probable, from the long and bloody wars which the Vandals had waged, not only againſt the Romans, but againſt other northern nations. Their very manner of going to war was a kind of depopulation of their own country; ſince, as Tacitus obſerves *, they carried along with them their wives and children, together with their cattle, in which their principal ſubſtance or wealth conſiſted. The fruitful provinces between the Elbe and the Viſtula being thus conſiderably thinned by frequent wars and migrations, the neighbouring nation of the Slavi or Venedi was eaſily induced to croſs the Viſtula, and gradually to extend themſelves along the Baltic, ſo as to mingle and incorporate with the remaining inhabitants: and hence it is that the names of the Vandals and the Venedi are ſo often confounded, eſpecially by the writers of the middle ages.

THE country having been thus in ſome meaſure depopulated by conſtant wars and migrations, it is reaſonable to preſume that the princes themſelves were not diſſatisfied to ſee the void ſpaces filled up by a new colony. But it is beyond all doubt that the ancient inhabitants were not wholly extirpated, though we cannot exactly aſſign what agreement they made with the new adventurers. Procopius takes notice † of a deputation which the Vandals

* Quodque præcipuum fortitudinis incitamentum eſt, non caſus, nec fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, ſed familiæ et propinquitates, et in proximo pignora; unde fæminarum ululatus audiri, unde vagitus infantium. Tacit. de morib. Germ.

† This paſſage of Procopius is ſo eſſential to our hiſtory, that we ſhall give it intire in the words of the original. Ἡνίκα Βανδίλοι καταρχὰς, τῷ λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι, ἐξ ἠθῶν των πατριῶν ἀνίσασθαι ἔμελλον, μοῖρά τις ἀυτῶν ἀπελέιπετο· ὅις δὴ ὀκνήσει ἐχομένοις, προς ἡδονην Γωδιγίσκλῳ ἐπίσπεσθαι ἐκ᾽ ἦν· προϊόντος δε χρόνῳ τοῖς τε μείνασι τά ἐς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων την ἀφθονίαν ἐῦ ἐχειν ἐδόκει· και Γιζέριχος ξυν τοῖς ἀμφ᾽ ἀυτὸν Λιβύην ἔσχεν· ὅπερ ἀκέσαντες οἱ Γωδιγισκλω ὐκ ἐπισπόμενοι, ἐχαιρον· τῆς χώρας λοιπον ἰσχυρότατα σφίσιν ἐς τὸ ἀποζῆν διαρκέσης· δείσαντες δε, μὴ χρόνῳ πολλῷ ὑςερον ἢ αὐτοὶ, ὅσοι Λιβύην ἔσχον, ἢ τέκτων ἀπόγονοι ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ Λιβύης ἐξελαυνόμενοι ἐπανήξουσιν ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἤθη· ἐ γαρ᾽ ποτε Ρωμαίοις ἀύτην ἐς ἀεὶ περιοψεσθαι ὑπετόπαζον· πρεσβεις

TANT

Vandals in Germany ſent to king Genſeric, to congratulate him upon the ſucceſs of his arms, and to deſire that their countrymen in Africa would reſign the property of their lands on the banks of the Baltic. The reaſon aſſigned for this requeſt was, that eſtates at ſuch a great diſtance could be of no ſervice to the preſent owners; but if the property were to be transferred to thoſe who reſided on the ſpot, it would be worth their while to cultivate and improve them. The propoſal appeared ſo reaſonable to Genſeric and the national aſſembly, that they were juſt upon the point of giving their conſent, when a venerable ſenator ſtood up and oppoſed the motion: he alledged that human affairs were ſubject to great viciſſitudes; and notwithſtanding the amazing ſucceſs by which they had eſtabliſhed a powerful kingdom in Africa, ſome future revolution might ſubvert their empire, and oblige them to return to their native country. This ſenſible repreſentation had ſuch an effect with Genſeric, that the propoſal of the deputies was abſolutely rejected.

πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν προς αὐτὺς· οἱ, ἐπεὶ Γιζερίχω ἐς ὄψιν ἦκον, συνήδεσθαι μεν τοις ὁμογενεσιν ἔτω δὴ εὐημερήσασιν ἐφασκον· φυλάσσειν δὲ περαιτέρω τῆν γῆν ὐχ οἵοί τε εἶναι, ἥσπερ αὐτοὶ ὠλιγωρηκότε, ἐπὶ Λιβύης ἱδρύσαντο· ἐδέοντο ἦν ἐι μὴ γῆς τῆς πατράας μεταποιῶνται, κτήματι αὐτοις ἀνοήτῳ σφίσι δωρήσασθαι· ὅπως δὴ κύριοι τῆς χώρας ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα γεγενήμενοι, ἤν τις, κακυργήσων ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἰόι, ὡς ἥκιστα ἀπαξιῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς θνήσκειν. Γιζερίχω μεν ἦν, ϗ Βανδίλοις τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐῦ τε ϗ τα δίκαια λέγειν ἔδοξαν· ϗ συνεχώρων ἅπαντα, ὅσα οἱ πρεσβεις αὐτῶν ἔχρηζον. γέρων δέ τις ἀνηρ' ἐν αὐτοῖς δόκιμος, ϗ δόξαν ἔπι ξυνέσει πολλὴν τινα ἐχων, τὸ τοιῦτον ἐπιτρέψειν ὐδαμῆ ἔφη· τῶν γαρ ἀνθρωπείων ὐδ' ὁ τιῦν ἐπι τῦ ασφαλοῖς ἱσασθαι· ἀλλ' ἶναι αὐτοῖς ἐς τον παντα αἰῶνα βέβαιον μεν τῶν ὄντων ἐδέν, τῶν δε ὐκ ὄντων ὐδὲν ἀμήχανον· ταῦτα ὁ Γιζέριχος ἀκύσας, ἐπῆνεσέ τε, ϗ τυς πρέσβεις ἀπράκτυς ἀποπέμπεσθαι ἔγνω. τότε μεν ἦν αὐτός τε ϗ ὁ παραινέσας (ἅτε τὰ ἀμήχανα προορώμενοι) πρὸς πάντων Βανδίλων γέλωτα ὤφλον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα, ἅπερ ἐῤῥέθη, ἐγένετο, μετέμαθον τε τῶν ανθρωπείων πραγμάτων οἱ Βανδίλοι τὴν φύσιν, ϗ σοφὸν τὸ ἔπος ἶναι ἀνδρός ἔγνωσαν.

Τῦτων μεν ὦν Βανδίλων οἱ ἔμειναν ἐν γῆ τῆ πατρῴα, ὐδὲ μνήμη τις ὐδὲ ὄνομα ἐς ἐμε σώζεται, ἅτε γαρ ὀλίγοις τισὶν ὖσιν ἢ βεβιᾶσθαι προς βαρβάρων τῶν σφίσιν ὁμόρων, ἢ ἀναμεμίχθαι ἔτι ἀκμαίοις τετύχηκε, τότε ὄνομα ἐς αὐτὺς πη ἀποκεκρίσθαι. ὅ μεν ὐδε ἠσσημένοις τότε προς Βελισαρίυ Βανδίλοις ἔννοια γέγονεν ἐς ἦθη τα πάτρια ἐνθένδε ἰέναι· ὰ γαρ εἶχον ἐκ Λιβύης ἐκ τῦ ἀφνειᾶ. ἄλλως τε ϗ νεῶν ὰ παρεσῶν σφισιν, ἐς την Ἐυρώπην κομίζεσθαι. Procop. de Bell. Vand. lib. i. cap. 22.

FROM

FROM the above account it plainly appears that there remained a conſiderable number of inhabitants in this country, notwithſtanding the ſeveral migrations of the Vandals; and as theſe people muſt have been ſubject to ſome form of government, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that they ſtill continued to be ruled by their own princes. When the Venedi, therefore, began to ſpread themſelves into this province, it is highly probable that they ſubmitted to the eſtabliſhed government, unleſs it can be demonſtrated that they had recourſe to the ſword, and ſeized the country by the right of conqueſt. But it does not appear, from any ancient writer, that they invaded this part of Germany in a hoſtile manner, or ſtripped the inhabitants of their poſſeſſions; on the contrary, it is probable they were invited hither by the princes themſelves, with a view to fill up the vacancies made by the numerous migrations of the warlike Vandals; they muſt therefore have taken poſſeſſion of thoſe lands by agreement, though we do not find it recorded in hiſtory. Thus the two nations coaleſced into one, ſo as to live under the ſame government, and be ſubject to the princes of the ancient royal line. Such is the opinion of the hiſtorians of Mecklenburg *, and the conſtant tradition of that ſerene family. This is farther corroborated by ſome obſervations on the hiſtory of the Venedi. During the whole period of the reigns of the kings of that nation, moſt of thoſe princes were diſtinguiſhed by German names, which ſhew them to have been of Vandalic extraction. Again, the Venedi of Bohemia and Poland never entered into any alliance with their countrymen on the Baltic; but on the contrary harraſſed them with frequent wars and incurſions; which hoſtile behaviour cannot ſo eaſily be accounted for, as by ſuppoſing the latter to have been governed by Vandalic kings, with whom the former had no affinity or connexion. Further, the Venedi on the Baltic followed the ſame ſuperſtitious practices as the Vandals; which evidently appears from

* Buckholtz, Simon, Weſtphal. & alii omnes.

their

their being ſo greatly addicted to the worſhip of Rhadagaſtus. Their language alſo is a mixture of the old Teutonic and Sclavonian; from whence a preſumption is formed that they were ſubject to a Teutonic government.

THESE are plauſible arguments for deriving the princes of the Venedi from thoſe of the Vandalic line; and though we have not the authority of ancient writers for this opinion, we may venture to affirm that it is founded upon a very ſtrong degree of probability. Our regard, however, for the laws of hiſtory obliges us to diſtinguiſh between undoubted facts and probable accounts; leaving it to the reader to determine how far he will chooſe to embrace a ſyſtem founded on immemorial tradition and reaſonable conjecture.

The END of the FIRST BOOK.

THE

THE HISTORY OF VANDALIA.

BOOK II.

Of the Kingdom of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES.

THE migration of the Venedi conſtitutes a memorable æra in the hiſtory of the northern nations, as it gave riſe to a new kingdom, which long diſtinguiſhed itſelf by its vigorous efforts againſt the repeated incroachments of the Franks, Danes, and Saxons. The Venedi firſt extended themſelves along the Baltic, and took poſſeſſion of the territories abandoned by the Vandals *. Their numbers afterwards increaſed; and their monarchy gained a conſiderable acceſſion of ſtrength by the diſcord and diviſions of the Franks, Saxons, Thuringians, and other Teutonic nations. Another circumſtance which contributed to eſtabliſh their power, was the expedition of the Anglo-Saxons into Britain in 449; an event which drained that part of Germany of numbers of warlike inhabitants, and afforded an opportunity for the Venedi to enlarge their ſettlements. Hence they not only grew formidable on the Baltic, but ſpread themſelves further ſouth, and were able to contend with the Franconian kings and German emperors. But the firſt period of their hiſtory is, from the ſterility of ancient accounts, very obſcure and imperfect. The writers of the an-

* Helmold. Grantz. Chytræus, Bangert, Beehr, &c.

nals


28
THE BRITISH
OCEAN
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HAMBUR
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Mouth of the
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54
53
52
. A City
. A Heathen
. A Castle
. A Princely
. Archiepisc
28

nals of the Franks * are our earlieſt guides in thoſe dark and ignorant ages: for the Venedi reſembled the Vandals in leaving no records of their actions; neither do the Saxons ſeem to have had any hiſtorians of their own till the tenth century; and the Franks themſelves had no knowledge of that country, till it was opened to their kings by means of the Saxon wars. Next to the Franconian writers we are indebted to the Saxons for the moſt ancient accounts of the Venedic nation. We ſhall follow their footſteps with the utmoſt care, particularly thoſe of Adam of Bremen, and Helmoldus of Boſow, writers of very great authority.

CHAP. I.

Origin of the ancient Slavi or Venedi; of their ſeveral tribes, language, cuſtoms, manners, religion, and form of government.

Origin of the Venedi.

THE Slavi or Venedi were a nation of Sarmatia Europæa, which laſt comprehended all the countries from the Tanais to the Viſtula. Ptolemy ſays, that Sarmatia is inhabited by numerous nations, and among the reſt by the Venedi, who reſide near the Venedic gulph; where it is to be obſerved, according to Cluverius †, that Sinus Venedicus does not ſignify the whole Baltic Sea, but the coaſts between the Viſtula and the Narva. Tacitus indeed, from ſome conformity of cuſtoms, ſeems to reckon the Venedi among the Germans ‡; but their very language ſhews him to have been greatly miſtaken. The Slavi and Antæ belonged to the principal race of the Venedi, and are firſt mentioned by Jornandes and Procopius: their names were promiſcuouſly uſed for one and the ſame people;

* Eginhardus, Annales Bertiniani, Fuldenſes, Laureſhamenſes, Egoliſmenſes, Lambecciani, Metenſes, Nazariani, &c. as alſo Aſtronomi vita Ludovici Pii.

† Cluver. Germ. Antiq. lib. iii. c. 37. ‡ They are alſo called Sclavi or Sclaveni.

and their language alone, the true characteriſtic of a national deſcent, ſufficiently proves them to have been of the ſame extraction. In the reign of Juſtinian, theſe people quitting their own country, where they were ſtreightened for room, became famous by their migrations and excurſions, by which they erected new kingdoms in ſeveral parts of Europe. Some of them eſtabliſhed themſelves in Illyricum and Dalmatia, which from thence were called Sclavonia. Others ſettled in different parts of Germany, along the ſouth ſide of the Baltic, in Pruſſia, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg, in the marquiſate of Brandenburg, in Luſatia and Miſnia, on the confines of Pannonia and Noricum *, in the kingdom of Bohemia, and even as far weſt as Holſtein and the country of Lunenburg. The remainder preſerved their liberty and dominions in Sarmatia; and from them the preſent Poles and Ruſſians are deſcended †.

Different tribes of the Venedi.

But our deſign is to treat only of thoſe Venedi who ſettled gradually in the country of the Vandals, extending themſelves on the ſouthern coaſts of the Baltic from the Viſtula to the Elbe. Of theſe there were ſeveral tribes, the knowledge of whoſe names will be found neceſſary to ſuch as would peruſe the following hiſtory. As they moſt frequently occur in Adam Bremenſis, Helmoldus, and other writers of the middle ages, who treat of the affairs of the Slavi, we ſhall give their Latin names, with their modern appellations.

I. The Pomerani, the inhabitants of Further Pomerania; their country extended as far as the river Oder, at the mouth of which was the famous city of Vinneta.

II. The Rani, the inhabitants of the iſle of Rugen: they were celebrated for their valour; and their country formed a kingdom, which is frequently mentioned in the hiſtories of the middle ages.

* Their poſterity ſtill ſubſiſt in Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola; and hence this country is diſtinguiſhed by the name of Windiſch Mark.

† Procop. de Bell. Goth. lib. 3. Jornand. c. 23. Maſcow, vol. ii. annot. 31. Schurtzfleiſch rer. Slav. Wittius in antiq. gentis Henetæ, Buckholtz, Beehr, Kluver, Weſtphal.

III. The

III. The Wilzi, who were alſo called Lutitii and Velatabi, inhabited partly the Hither Pomerania, partly the Ucker Marck and Prignitz. They were ſubdivided into four petty tribes, viz.

The Circipani, who lived on the banks of the Peene in Hither Pomerania: their principal towns were, Wolgaſt, Stralſund, Demmin, and Wilſnach.

The Kiſſini, who inhabited Gutzkow and Gripſwald.

The Rhedarii, the people of Stolpe and Anclam.

And the Tollenſi, who reſided about New Brandenburg.

IV. The Warnavi, ſo called from the river Warnow, as alſo Werli and Wendi, per excellentiam, were the inhabitants of the country of Roſtock, Butzow, and Guſtrow. We find, however, that the people about Roſtock were alſo diſtinguiſhed by the name of Kiſſini.

V. The Obotriti inhabited the country about Mecklenburg and Schwerin. This was the principal tribe of the whole nation; hence ſuch a number of their princes were diſtinguiſhed by the title of kings of the Obotrites.

VI. The Polabi were ſettled in the duchy of Lawenburg, and in the neighbourhood of Ratzeburg, along the river Elbe, or Labe, as ſome call it.

VII. The Wagrii reſided in the neighbourhood of Lubeck, and in the eaſtern part of Holſtein, which to this day is called Wagria.

VIII. The Lingones and Lini poſſeſſed ſome part of the duchy of Lunenburg.

Besides the foregoing tribes there were ſome others in Eaſtern Slavia or Vandalia, a name given to the marquiſate of Brandenburg by the writers of the middle ages: theſe were the Lebuſii, the Stoderani, and Wilini, the inhabitants of Berlin and Brandenburg; the Havellani or Helveldi, the people of Havelberg; the Brizani, the inhabitants of Prignitz and Perleberg: to whom may be added the Siolini, the people of Stettin; the Sorabi or Sorbi, who lived in the neighbourhood of

Zerbſt, Leipſic, and Halle; and the Ucri, the inhabitants of the Ucker Marck *.

THESE are the ſeveral tribes of the Venedi who ſpread themſelves in the country of the Vandals, and to theſe our hiſtory is confined. The Venedi of Bohemia and Pruſſia have no concern with thoſe of Mecklenburg and Pomerania; and the ſame may be ſaid with reſpect to the Venedi on the other ſide of the Havel and the Spree, as far as the Saale, who belonged to thoſe of Bohemia. Thoſe of Holſtein and Wagria paſſing the ancient limits of the Vandals, were ſettled in Saxony by the emperor Charlemagne, and were partly of Vandalic and partly of Venedic extraction. The ſame may be ſaid of the Venedi of Lunenburg, who croſſed the Elbe and fixed their reſidence in the neighbourhood of Bardowick and Danneberg. All theſe people are promiſcuouſly called Slavi or Venedi; and by the writers of the middle ages they are alſo ſtiled Wandali, Winnuli, Winnili, Windili, Wendi, Wenedi, Heneti, and Weneti, which denote the ſame individual nation. We ſhall indifferently make uſe of the two firſt terms of Slavi and Venedi in this period of our hiſtory; though it muſt be obſerved at the ſame time, that we mean chiefly with Helmoldus to ſpeak of the Obotriti, the Wagrii, and the Polabi: for although the ſeveral other tribes, which poſſeſſed themſelves of Vandalic lands, were of Venedic original, yet it became the cuſtom of ſubſequent ages to confer on the princes of the Obotrites, and the Wagrii alone, κατ' ἐξοχην, or, by way of preference, the title of kings of the Venedi †. Whenever there may be occaſion to mention any other particular tribe, we ſhall diſtinguiſh it by its proper appellation.

Derivation of the name of Slavi and Venedi.

WITH regard to the denomination of Slavi, it is ſaid to be derived from Slau, which in the Sclavonic language ſignifies Glory or Honour; as if this were the favourite object by which that nation was ambitious of being diſtinguiſhed. The name

* Helmoldus, Crantzius, Bangert, Reineccius, Cluver. Beehr, Buckholtz.

† Bangert not. in Helm. lib. i. p. 13.

of

of Venedi is deduced by ſome from the Veneti or Heneti in Paphlagonia, of whom we find mention in Homer and Herodotus; or from the Veneti, who are ſaid to have ſailed to Italy, after the deſtruction of Troy, under the command of Antenor. But it is certain that the Venedi were quite a different people from the Veneti *. The Germans diſtinguiſh the former by the name of Wenden; for which they endeavour to find an etymology in their own tongue: it is, however, more likely to be of Sclavonic original, the Latins having firſt formed the word Venedi from that language, and from thence by corruption the name of Wenden † has been derived.

Language of the Venedi.

THE language of the Venedi was doubtleſs the Sclavonic; yet the ſeveral tribes who ſettled on the ſouthern coaſts of the Baltic, muſt have borrowed a multitude of terms from the ancient Vandals, ſo as to form a mixed dialect, quite different from that of the Bohemians, Poles, and other Sclavonian nations. Thoſe who are acquainted with the German tongue may eaſily underſtand great part of the Venedic or Wendiſh dialect ſpoken in this neighbourhood, as I have been credibly informed by perſons who frequently converſed with theſe people, in the country of Mecklenburg and the duchy of Lunenburg. For the ſatisfaction of the curious I ſhall here inſert the Lord's Prayer in the new Venedic or Wendiſh dialect, to the end that ſuch as are ſkilled in the German may be able to form ſome judgment of the affinity between the two languages.

Nôs hôlga Wader, tu toy chiſs wa nebiſgay. Sijunta woarda tugi geima. Tia rick komma. Tia willga ſchingôt, koke nebiſgay, kok kak noſcme. Noeſſi wiſſe danneiſna ſtyeiba doi nam dans. Un wittedog nom nôſſe gyreîs, tak moi wittedegime noſſem greſnarim. Ny bring gog nos ka warſikonge. Tay loſcây nos mit wiſſokak. Chundak.

LAZIUS ‡, who wrote in the middle of the ſixteenth century, makes an obſervation on the Wendiſh language, ſpoken at

* Maſcow. † Buckholtz, Kluver, Beehr. ‡ Lazius de migrationibus gentium, p. 787.

that

that time in the country of Mecklenburg, viz. that it partook conſiderably of the Latin; and he attempts to prove it by the following ſpecimen, which is the Lord's prayer in the old Venedic dialect.

TABES mus, kas tu es eſchan debbes. Sis ſweritz tows waretz enach mums tows walſtibe. Tows proatribus ka eſchan debbes, ta wurſam ſummes. Maſſe de miſche mayſe dus mums ſchoden. Pammate mums muſſe grakhe; xames pammat muſſe paradacken. Ne wedde mums lonna badde ke. Pet paſſarza mums nu wuſſe lonne. Amen.

BUT excepting the words Es and Tows, I confeſs I can ſee no ſimilarity between the Latin and the Venedic. One thing, however, to be obſerved is, the vaſt difference between thoſe two prayers; which plainly ſhews that the language muſt have greatly changed in the ſpace of two hundred years, or that it muſt even then have branched out into different dialects.

THAT the language of the Vandals was conſiderably intermixed with that of the Venedi, appears farther not only from the proper names of their kings and princes, but likewiſe from thoſe of ſeveral towns and villages, which were certainly built at a time when the Venedic dialect obtained in that country, viz. till the thirteenth century. The names terminating in ow are, beyond all doubt, of Vandalic original, as Butzow, Guſtrow, Teterow, Mirow, Nemerow, Grabow, &c. which come from the German word Aue, ſignifying the ſame as Gau and Gowe, a Field or Meadow. The like may be ſaid of the names terminating in hagen, as Greifenhagen, Grubenhagen, Bugenhagen, &c. which are derived from the German word Hag, in the plural Hagen, a Hedge; for in ſuch places the heathens uſed to worſhip their deities. Thus the city of Lubeck ſome derive from the Venedic word Liubka, ſignifying a Bride: but the Venedi borrowed that word from the Vandals; for Liebchen in the High German, or Leubken in the Low German, are uſed as flattering terms to a lady. Thus the name of Gadebuſch or Godeboſch, which is as ancient as any in the Venedic

Saxo. Venedus.

I. Taylor Sculp.

Venedic language, ſignifies nothing more than Godes or Gades, or Gotteſbuſch, or the Buſh of God; which is a much more natural derivation than that from Rhadegaſt, whom ſome pretend to have been alſo called Gadegaſt. We could mention ſeveral other inſtances in proof of this mixture of the two languages, were we not afraid of taking up too much of the reader's time upon ſo dry a ſubject *.

Customs and manners of the Venedi.

The cuſtoms and manners of the Venedi differed very little from thoſe of the Vandals; the ſame virtues of hoſpitality and ſincerity, and nearly the ſame vices of intemperance and cruelty, characterized both nations. It is true the Saxon writers draw a very diſagreeable picture of the ancient Venedi; and the preſent race are held in great contempt, if not to ſay abhorrence, by the Germans. But the latter is merely the effect of prejudice, which uſually ſubſiſts in the minds of the conquerors againſt the vanquiſhed nation. The preſent race of Venedi in Germany live almoſt in a ſtate of ſlavery, and muſt alſo have an antipathy againſt the Saxons, by whom they have been ſtripped of their ancient poſſeſſions. In other reſpects they are a harmleſs innocent people, whom poverty and ſervitude preſerve from many vices. As for the ancient Venedi, the accounts which the Saxon hiſtorians give us of that nation (and the ſame may be ſaid of the Daniſh writers) ought to be read with great caution, as coming from perſons who were declared enemies both to their country and religion. Thus they inform us (and there are inſcriptions to that purpoſe ſtill extant in ſeveral of the church windows of Germany) that the idolatrous Venedi boiled the Chriſtians in oil, ripped open the bellies of the biſhops, and took the entrails out of their bodies, then faſtened one end of them to a poſt, and whipped them ſeverely, till they had wound their bowels quite round it. Cruelties almoſt incredible, and that ſeem to ſurpaſs the barbarity of human nature! The Saxons themſelves, before their converſion to Chriſtianity, are

* Friſchens on the Sclavonian language, Olaus Worms de litteris Runicis, Schurtzfleiſch de reb. Slav. Simon Vandal. Weſtphal. Buckholtz.

repreſented

repreſented in as odious a light by the Franconian writers, and perhaps with as little juſtice and regard to truth. It was then the faſhion (and we could wiſh it did not ſtill prevail) to draw ſuch a picture of thoſe who were not orthodox believers, as ſhould render them ſupremely odious, and raiſe the reputation and merit of ſuch as endeavoured at their converſion *.

YET even the moſt inveterate enemies of the Venedi cannot help extolling the hoſpitality of that nation †: and ſo rigid obſervers were they of this virtue, that if any of their countrymen were found guilty of turning a ſtranger out of doors, they puniſhed him moſt ſeverely by ſetting his houſe on fire. But what Helmoldus objects, that they ſupported their hoſpitality by theft and robbery, ſtealing from their neighbours to give to ſtrangers, ſeems to be a mere calumny, deſtitute of all probability: for beſides that Helmoldus, as an eccleſiaſtic, may be juſtly ſuſpected for his partiality againſt theſe people on account of their religion; it is well known that the converſion of the Slavi in Pomerania met with ſuch difficulties, chiefly for this objection, that the Chriſtians, as they ſaid, were peſtered with beggars and thieves; whereas it was the cuſtom of the Slavi to tolerate no baſe or uſeleſs ſubjects ‡.

WITH regard to their violences and depredations, of which ſuch frequent complaint is made by the Daniſh writers, theſe were a conſequence of the continual war between the Venedi and that nation, in virtue of which they infeſted thoſe ſeas with their armed veſſels. Such hoſtilities the Danes diſtinguiſhed by the ignominious appellation of piracy, as the Chriſtians give the name of rovers and corſairs to the petty ſtates of Barbary. Agreeably to this notion Crantzius affirms, that a piratical life was in as great eſteem among the Venedi, as theft had been

* Buckholtz, Simon Vand. † Moribus & hoſpitalitate nulla gens honeſtior aut benignior potuit inveniri. Helm. Chron. Slav. lib. i. c. 2. ‡ Buckholtz, Latomus.

formerly

formerly among the Spartans; that their principle, if ſuch it could be called, was, that among animals the weakeſt is ever a prey to the ſtrongeſt; as appears by daily inſtances amongſt the birds of the air, the fiſhes of the ſea, the beaſts of the foreſt, as well as among the human ſpecies. But the declamations of the Daniſh and Saxon hiſtorians againſt the Venedi ought to be read with a proper grain of allowance. The Venedi had no domeſtic writers (at leaſt that are come down to us) to conſign their exploits to poſterity: therefore they are much in the ſame ſituation, in regard to the Danes and Saxons, as the Carthaginians and Vandals were formerly with reſpect to the Romans. A ſevere caſe, when the character of a nation muſt be taken from the writings of its enemies!

We are not therefore ſurprized to hear the Saxons complaining (and the Franks had long before made the ſame complaint againſt the Saxons) of the perfidy of the Venedi, and of their frequent infringement of treaties. This was in a great meaſure declamation and abuſe; and perhaps if the Venedi had tranſmitted any account of thoſe tranſactions down to us, they would appear in quite a different light. Who can tell whether they did not imagine themſelves juſtified in ſetting aſide treaties, to which they had been compelled by ſuperior force, and by which they were obliged to reſign their native freedom? How far a treaty may bind a nation to ſubmit to ſlavery, we ſhall not pretend to determine; but ſurely if ever the violation of ſuch an engagement is excuſable, it muſt be when the noble, the ſacred cauſe of liberty is concerned.

Their character of cruelty is perhaps better grounded; yet in all probability the inſtances mentioned by the monkiſh writers are greatly exaggerated. Beſides, we are to conſider that the apoſtles of thoſe days were apt to propagate the goſpel by fire and ſword; therefore it is not at all ſurprizing that ſuch as were obſtinate in their infidelity ſhould make repriſals, and uſe ſome ſeverities againſt the armed apoſtles, whenever theſe happened to fall into their hands. The intemperance with which they are charged was no more than what is common with the Germans and other

northern nations, whoſe rigorous climate frequently obliges them to have recourſe to generous liquors. They are likewiſe accuſed of ſome barbarous cuſtoms; ſuch as thoſe of expoſing their children, eſpecially the girls, and of burying old men alive, when they were paſt their labour *; but theſe are looked upon by ſome modern writers as miſrepreſentations of the prieſts and monks, and mere contrivances to throw an odium on their national character. For how is it poſſible to reconcile ſuch barbarities to their ſtrict regard for juſtice, and to their love of their relations, for which they have been ſo juſtly celebrated? In ſhort, if there had been canibals known in thoſe days, the Saxons had ſuch an averſion to the Venedi (as all mankind by ſome fatality have to thoſe whom they have injured ‡) that they would have repreſented them in the odious light of man-devourers †.

Venedic towns.

THE Venedi reſided chiefly in towns, of which there were not many upon their firſt arrival in that country; but their wars with the Danes and Saxons rendered it neceſſary for their ſecurity to build more places of incloſure, beſides thoſe which had been founded by the Vandals. Theſe they ſurrounded, after the rude manner of thoſe days, with a ſingle wall and a ditch; but they afterwards added more regular works, according to the manner of fortifying which the Germans borrowed of the Romans. Beſide the old Vandalic towns we read of the following cities in the times of the Venedi, viz. Julin, Vineta, and Stettin, in Pomerania; Guſtrow, Parchim, Rhetre, Schwerin, and Roſtock or Kiſſin, in the country of Mecklenburg; Lubeck in Wagria; and Ratzeburg in the country of the Polabi. Moſt of theſe cities were built by the Venedi, and inhabited partly by that nation, and partly by the Saxons. They were governed by civil magiſtrates, and filled with people, who applied themſelves with great induſtry to the ſeveral arts

* Crantzius gives us an inſtance or two of this kind; but this is not enough to eſtabliſh the general character of a nation.

‡ Proprium eſt humani ingenii odiſſe quem læſeris. Tacit. in Agric.

† Simon Vand. Latomus, Beehr, Kluver, Schurtzfleiſch, Buckholtz.

and

and manufactures. Even learning is ſaid to have flouriſhed among them; for at Demmin in Pomerania they had a public college, where youth were inſtructed in the Runic literature *.

Religion of the Venedi.

TILL the diſſolution of their kingdom under Pribiſlaus II. the Venedi were groſs idolaters, and beſides their own ſuperſtitious practices, had alſo adopted thoſe of the Vandals. In this reſpect they were not unlike the Cuthæans, who, upon repeopling the land of Iſrael at the time of Sennacherib, were contented to worſhip the true GOD, without forſaking their own deities †. In the writers of the middle ages we find frequent mention of the idols of the Slavi or Venedi, which are the ſame as thoſe we meet with in the Vandalic hiſtory: for as the Venedi are ſuppoſed to have ſettled in this country with the conſent of the Vandals, they muſt have ſubmitted to ſome conditions from the latter; the principal of which we may ſafely conjecture to be one religion and government. But that they embraced their religious worſhip is further evinced from the names of their deities, all of German original. Thus Rhadegaſt, a king and god of the Vandals, was afterwards the chief deity of the Obotrites, the principal tribe of the Venedi. The name ſignifies the ſame as Geiſt des Raths in the German; that is, the Spirit of Counſel: he was worſhipped by the Vandals under the emblem of a bull, which ſome pretend to have been borrowed from the Apis of the Egyptians. The goddeſs Siva, their moſt ancient deity, was taken from Symbulla, the wife of Anthyrius. In Pomerania and the iſle of Rugen they paid their adorations to the god Suantewit, which ſignifies the ſame as the White Swan ‡. The god Triglaff at Brandenburg was alſo of Teutonic original, and took his name from his three faces or heads. In like manner the god Prowe is derived from the German word Proſen, to prove; that is, from proving the truth. And thus might we illuſtrate many other deities of

* Schurtzfleiſch de rebus Slav. Weſtphal. Bangert. Simon. See alſo Helmold, Crantz. & Stephan. in not. ad Saxon. † Joſeph. Antiq. l. ix. c. 14.

‡ Helmoldus gives us another account of this deity, of which in its proper place.

the Venedi, were we but perfectly acquainted with the ancient language of the Germans and Vandals.

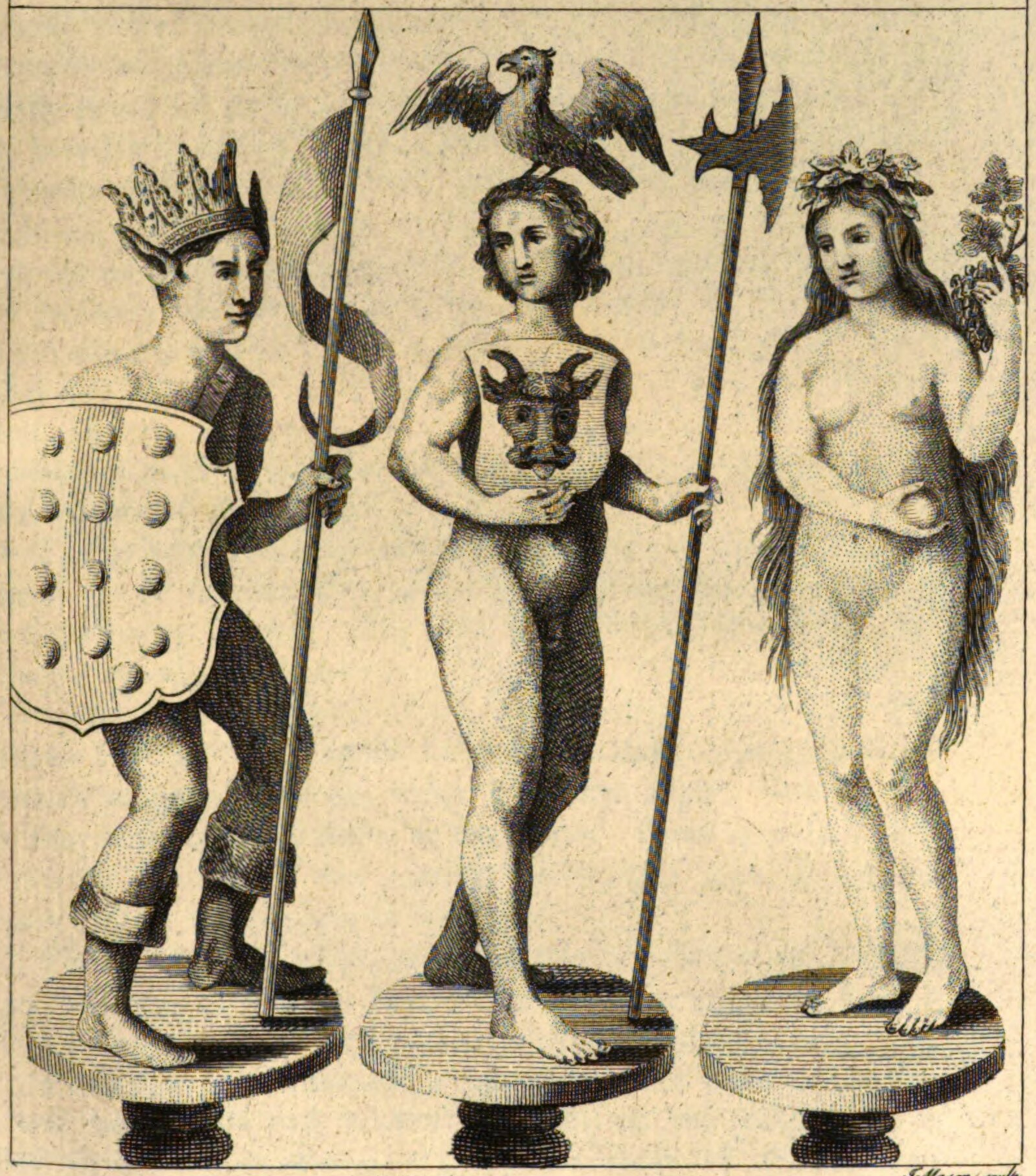
THE Venedi had a threefold theology; firſt, The fabulous, invented by poets, who broached a thouſand abſurd notions of the Deity. Secondly, The natural, which reaſons of God from his works, and rejects the fabulous tales of the poets. Thirdly, That of the prieſts, who preached up the falſe worſhip of their idols, and regulated their offerings and divine ſervice. Yet they believed that there was one ſupreme God, ſuperior to all the other beings; but that he only took care of celeſtial affairs, and left the management of terreſtrial concerns to the other deities.

THE Venedic inhabitants of Wagria and Mecklenburg had ſeveral of theſe inferior gods; nay, each city had its particular deity. Of theſe the principal were as follow;

PROW or PROWE was a deity worſhipped by the inhabitants of Aldenburg in Wagria. We have thought proper to exhibit the figure of the idol or image of Prowe from an old Saxon chronicle. The repreſentation is that of a man ſtanding on a pillar; his head is encircled with a crown, and his ears are long and erect; he appears booted, and one of his feet reſts on a bell. In his right hand he holds a red hot iron or plough-ſhare, and in his left a banner. This deity, as we have before obſerved, took the name of Prowe, in all probability, from the Teutonic word Proſen, to prove; becauſe thoſe who had been charged with any heinous crime were led before the idol, with a red-hot iron in their hand, to give proof of their innocence; and if they remained unhurt, they were ſolemnly acquitted. This, which was known by the name of the Ordeal, was a cuſtom of all the northern nations; a cuſtom to which the Venedi were ſo ſtrongly attached, that even after the introduction of Chriſtianity into their country, they would not lay it aſide. From this idol of Prowe the village of Proenſdorff, in the diſtrict of Segeberg, as alſo the ruinous village of Pronow or Provenow, in the diſtrict of Oldenburg, derive their name.

RHADEGAST

PROWE. RADEGAST. SIVA.



J. Mason sculp.

RHADEGAST was a deity adored in the town of Rhetre, which ſome antiquarians apprehend to be the preſent Robel. To the great temple of this idol it was neceſſary to paſs over a wooden bridge; but none were indulged with that privilege, except ſuch as had offerings to make, or intended to conſult the oracle. We have alſo borrowed the repreſentation of this idol from the old Saxon chronicle above-mentioned. It was made of maſſy gold; on its head ſtood a bird with expanded wings; on its breaſt was a bull's head, the arms of the nation; with his right hand he ſupported theſe arms, and in his left he held a pole-ax. There was alſo a temple and ſtatue of this deity in the towns of Mecklenburg and Gadebuſch; and in the latter, as we have already obſerved, was Rhadegaſt's wood or grove, from whence it took its name, which ſignifies Lucus Dei. This idol alſo gave its name to the river which runs by Gadebuſch and Rhene. On the weſt ſide of the church of Gadebuſch there is a piece of curious metal in the window, ſuppoſed to be a fragment of the old idol.

THE goddeſs SIVA was the favourite deity of the Polabi. Several are of opinion that this idol ſtood on the very ſpot on which Henry the Lion afterwards built the cathedral of Ratzeburg: it had alſo a grove belonging to it, like the other idols. We have given the figure of this goddeſs from Bangertus. She ſtands with both her hands behind her back, holding in one a bunch of grapes, in the other a golden apple. Her hair is diſhevelled, and falls down to her hams. Some apprehend this to have repreſented the goddeſs Venus; but more probably it was a figure of the famous Symbulla.

PODAGA was an idol, the chief ſeat of whoſe worſhip is ſaid to have been at Ploen. Helmoldus mentions this idol, book i. c. 83. but no author that I have ſeen gives us any deſcription of it.

FOR the public adoration of their chief deities, the Venedi had prieſts and ſolemn ſacrifices, at the celebration of which there was always a great concourſe of people from different quarters. This deluded multitude repaired to the place of worſhip with their reſpective offerings of oxen, ſheep,

ſheep, or fowls; but they ſtood without the grove, which none were permitted to enter but the prieſts belonging to the idol. Their victims on ſome occaſions are ſaid to have been Chriſtian priſoners, with whoſe blood they imagined their gods to be greatly delighted. The prieſt himſelf drank alſo of the blood, this being reckoned a moſt effectual preparative for the uttering of their oracles. The victims they took care to proportion to the rank of the deity: thus to the great god Rhadegaſt they ſacrificed gentlemen, prieſts, biſhops, and captive princes. After the ſacrifice was completed, they gave a looſe to all manner of mirth and feſtivity, till the approach of night obliged them to retire.

Such are the received accounts of the religious worſhip or groſs ſuperſtition of the Venedi. Helmoldus on this occaſion takes notice of a very extraordinary cuſtom which prevailed, even in their convivial meetings *: they all drank round out of the ſame cup, over which they pronounced ſome words by way of ſpell or inchantment; by theſe they invoked their gods, which were of two ſorts, the one the author of good, and the other of evil; to the former, whom they diſtinguiſhed by the name of Belboch, they imputed all proſperity; and to the latter all reverſe of fortune. The bad deity they called in their language Zoernboch, that is, the Black God. The ſame writer informs us, that the chief temple for the uttering of oracles among the Venedi of Pomerania, was that of the god Suantewit in the iſle of Rugen, where they are ſaid annually to have ſacrificed a Chriſtian, the firſt who fell in their way. All the other provinces contributed to the ſupport of this temple, which was held in ſuch veneration as to become a ſanctuary even to their enemies. Some part of theſe execrable

* Helmoldus mentions this as a practice in their common feaſtings; but it was certainly a ſacred compotation. This religious rite among the northern nations conſiſted in ſtanding round the fire, and emptying a great bowl in honour of the gods and their friends. Such ſuperſtitious practices were afterwards imitated by the Chriſtians, who drank about luxuriouſly in honour of the ſaints; and this is particularly mentioned of the Fratres Kalendarum at Brunſwick. See Keyſler Antiq. Septent.

ceremonies

ceremonies may perhaps be exaggerated, as we find that the meetings of the primitive Chriſtians were groſly miſrepreſented by Pagan writers *.

HOWEVER that may have been, it is certain that the Venedi held not only their groves, but even their ſepulchres in great veneration; and in ſeveral places there are ſtill little eminences to be ſeen, with large ſtone monuments and inſcriptions containing the names of the deceaſed. Over theſe ſepulchres they erected altars of three ſtones, on which they placed a fourth to offer up their ſacrifices. Moſt of thoſe tomb-ſtones were deſtroyed upon the introduction of Chriſtianity, and converted to the uſe of ſecular and eccleſiaſtical buildings. There is ſtill extant a monument of this kind in the neighbourhood of Hundorf, in the diſtrict of Wendendorf, the inſide of which exactly reſembles the famous Stonehenge on Saliſbury plain; from whence it may reaſonably be inferred that the latter was alſo a ſepulchral monument †.

Government of the Venedi.

THE form of government which obtained among the Venedi was certainly that of an hereditary monarchy; but it ſeems to have been ſo limited that the princes of the blood royal, with the aſſembly of the ſtates, partook of the legiſlative power. Concerning their laws we have but very imperfect ideas, from the crude accounts of Helmoldus and other eccleſiaſtical writers; ſo that it is impoſſible for us to aſcertain the extent of the king's prerogative. That the ſucceſſion continued in the ſame line from father to ſon, ſufficiently appears from the teſtimony of ancient authors ‡, and will be farther demonſtrated in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

BUT although the ſame royal family continued to inherit the ſovereignty, the ſucceſſion was often divided among ſeveral brothers, who either enjoyed the regal title alike, or erected particular principalities. Theſe princes, as was above obſerved, acknowledged the ſupreme authority of their kings, yet had a

* See Weſtphal. Monumenta Germanica, Maſius Antiquit. Mecklenb. and Sched. de Diis Germ. † Keyſter. ‡ Adam Bremen. Helmold. &c.

ſhare

ſhare in the legiſlature, in conjunction with the ſtates and nobility. We find in Helmoldus * ſome veſtiges of an aſſembly of the ſtates, with whom the king conſulted, and who were poſſeſſed of certain privileges: for inſtance, when Miſtevoius conſulted them in regard to the expediency of declaring war againſt the Saxons. But whether thoſe ſtates or nobility were poſſeſſed of ſo much power as ſome pretend, who place the Venedic kings on a level with thoſe of Sparta, is extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, at this diſtance of time, and without more authentic monuments, to determine †.

I AM not ignorant that ſome modern writers ‡ are of opinion, that the Venedi never lived under any one form of government; but that part of them were ſubject to kings, others to princes and great lords, while others were governed in the nature of a republic. If they mean that the whole nation of the Venedi or Slavi were not ſubject to one prince or ſovereign, they are certainly right; for who can pretend to affirm that the Bohemians, Poles, and Lithuanians, who were different branches of the Venedic nation, paid obeiſance to the ſame prince? It muſt farther be allowed that the ſeveral tribes of the Venedi, who ſucceeded or were incorporated with the Vandals, had their own princes, or lived under their own form and mode of government; yet it is highly probable that they were all ſubordinate to the kings of the Obotrites, this being the principal tribe, from which the whole nation was ſometimes denominated. According to this notion the ſeveral princes of the Venedi formed one body, not unlike that of the Germanic empire, which conſiſts of a confederacy of different princes and ſtates under one head. We find that the authority of ſome of thoſe kings extended over all the Baltic Venedi; and if their juriſdiction happened to be ſometimes abridged, this is ſaid to have proceeded from their wars with the German emperors, or with the dukes of Saxony, which encouraged ſome of the ſubordinate

* Book i. c. 16. † Struvens, Weſtphal. Buckholtz. ‡ Beehr, Kluver.

princes

princes to throw off their dependence, and to put themſelves under the protection of the empire *.

THE conſequence of thoſe very wars induced a great many writers to deny the ſovereignty of the Venedic kings, and to treat them as vaſſals or ſubjects of Germany. It is true they ſometimes paid homage to the German emperors; but this was only a temporary acknowledgement, the effect of uſurpation, and not of any eſtabliſhed right. If we conſider the affair with an eye of impartiality, we ſhall find that it fared with the kings of the Venedi, as it generally does with a weaker prince who joins with a more powerful confederate; the latter is apt to aim at a ſuperiority over his ally, and to treat him as a dependent. When the Venedic princes firſt acted as auxiliaries in the army of Charlemagne againſt the Saxons, their kingdom was altogether independent, and their ſovereignty eſtabliſhed; but the Franks, after ſubduing the Saxons, were become neighbours to the Venedi; and as it is uſual for neighbouring nations to quarrel †, the more powerful ſtate endeavoured to deprive its old allies of their liberty. The ſucceſſors of Charlemagne claiming a ſovereign juriſdiction over the Venedi, it is no wonder that this claim ſhould meet with oppoſition from a free and warlike people, who, for aſſerting their independency, are often treated by the Franconian and Saxon writers as rebels.

THERE are ſome who deny that the Venedic ſovereigns were poſſeſſed of the regal dignity, and only allow them the title of dukes, princes, or the more ſlighting appellation of reguli. But this is owing to the vanity of the Saxon hiſtorians, who are ſo apt to magnify the power and authority of the German emperors, compared to whom the Venedic kings could make but an inconſiderable figure. We muſt acknowledge, however, that the Venedi themſelves did not diſtinguiſh their ſovereigns by the title of kings, though they paid them all the homage and reſpect

* Beehr, Struvens, Kluver. Buckholtz.

† Solito inter accolas odio. Tacitus.

due to that dignity: they made uſe of the word Kiral or Korol, which ſignifies Lord, or that of Knees Weliki, which denotes Great Prince; this they looked upon as a higher title than that of king, and is the ſame which the Ruſſians uſed to confer on their ſovereigns till very lately, when they exchanged it for that of emperor. Hence it is that after the conqueſt of this kingdom by Henry the Lion, the ſovereigns of Mecklenburg choſe the title of Herren or Lords, preferably to that of Princes; and John the Divine, for the ſame reaſon, was called Knees Janicke *. But it is time for us now to relate the tranſactions of this race of kings, or, which amounts to the ſame, theſe great princes, of the Venedi and Obotrites. We have added the latter to their title, to diſtinguiſh them from the other princes of the Slavi, who are ſometimes honoured by the Franconian writers with the title of kings, though ſubordinate to this, the principal tribe of the whole nation.

* Struvens, Beehr, Kluver. Buckholtz.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Containing the reigns of the KINGS of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES, from Wiflaus III. who died in the year 700, to the death of Tabamuizel in 865.

Obſcurity of the Venedic hiſtory. Reign of Witzan. Account of the Saxons. Alliance with Charlemagne. War between the Franks and Saxons. War between the Franks and the Wilzi. War between the Franks and Saxons renewed. Death of Witzan. The Obotrites not vaſſals to the Franks. Traſco ſucceeds to the crown. His victory over the Saxons. Incurſions of the Normans. Charlemagne proclaimed emperor. The Saxons quite ſubdued. War between the Danes and Obotrites. Origin of Hamburg. War renewed between the Obotrites and the Wilzi. Death of Traſco. Slaomir ſucceeds to the crown. War between the Franks and Danes. Death of Charlemagne. Ill behaviour of Lewis the Debonnaire to Slaomir. Diſturbances in Denmark. War between Slaomir and the emperor. Slaomir depoſed. Ceadragus raiſed to the Venedic throne. Differences between Ceadragus and Lewis the Debonnaire. Diſpute of two brothers about the kingdom of the Wilzi. Conteſts between Ceadragus and his ſubjects. Death of Ceadragus. He is ſucceeded by Gozimulus. Quarrels in the Carlovingian family. The Venedi attempt to recover their liberty. Lewis the Germanic ſubdues the Venedi. Gozimulus is ſlain in battle. Creation of the dukedom of Saxony. Tabamuizel inherits the throne of the Venedi. The Danes invade the country of the Obotrites. Death of the emperor Lotharius. War between Lewis the Germanic and Tabamuizel. Death of Tabamuizel.

I. WISLAUS III. the Firſt KING,
II. ARIBERT I. the Second KING,
III. ARIBERT II. the Third KING,
} Of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES.

THE preceding book we concluded with the reign of Rhadagaſtus II. the laſt king of the Vandals, who is ſaid to have died towards the middle of the ſeventh century. The accounts which are given of that prince, and of the kingdom

Obſcurity of the Venedic hiſtory.

of the Venedi, under his immediate ſucceſſors Wiſlaus and the two Ariberts, are very unſatisfactory, being ſupported by no other authority than that of tradition. As the Franconian annaliſts, from whom we have the earlieſt hiſtory of the Venedic princes, do not aſcend ſo high as this period, it muſt neceſſarily partake of the obſcurity in which the original of moſt nations is involved. Some pretend * that upon the migration of the Venedi, the country of the Vandals was ſeized by conqueſt, and the royal line of the Aſdingi diſpoſſeſſed of their dominions. But ſince we meet with no ſuch conqueſt or revolution in any ancient authors, we have preferred that ſyſtem which, agreeably to the tradition of the ſerene family of Mecklenburg, and for the reaſons aſſigned at the end of the preceding book, derives the kings of the Venedi and Obotrites from the royal line of the Vandals. With regard to the tranſactions of the Venedic nation during the reigns of the three above-mentioned kings, we have no relations but ſuch as ſeem to have been invented by modern writers; and for that reaſon are undeſerving of our notice. We ſhall only, on account of the ſucceſſion, mention what concerns the marriages, deaths, and iſſue of thoſe princes †.

700. WISLAUS III. the firſt king of the Venedi and Obotrites, married Petruſſa, daughter of Aribert II. king of Lombardy, and died in 700. He left one ſon, who ſucceeded him, viz. Aribert I. and a daughter named Sybilla, married to a Swabian, or, as ſome ſay, to a Swediſh prince.

724. ARIBERT I. the ſecond king of the Venedi and Obotrites, eſpouſed a Poliſh princeſs named Mundana, and departed this life in 724. He left two ſons, his ſucceſſor Aribert II. and Billung I. prince of the Venedi and Obotrites, who eſpouſed Hildegard, a Burgundian lady, and whoſe poſterity is ſaid to

* Spener in Sylloge.

† The reader may ſee this genealogy at length in our firſt table; but we do not pretend to vouch for the names of the ſeveral princeſſes who are ſaid to have been married into the royal family.

have

have afterwards aſcended the throne of the Venedi in the perſon of Miſtevoy I. *

ARIBERT II. the third king of the Venedi and Obotrites, is ſaid to have eſpouſed a daughter of Alfred, a Britiſh prince. He breathed his laſt in 747, and was ſucceeded by his only ſon Witzan or Witzlaus II.

IV. WITZAN or WITZLAUS II.

The Fourth KING of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES.

IN this prince's reign the light of hiſtory begins to dawn, and gradually ſpread its rays over the Venedic nation. Witzan is the firſt king of the Venedi and Obotrites, of whom mention is made in the Franconian annals. Hence is is that ſome modern writers †, conſidering that there are no vouchers in hiſtory for the kings of the Venedi any higher than Witzan, and too incredulous to be directed by family traditions, make this prince the patriarch or founder of the moſt ſerene houſe of Mecklenburg. But which way ſoever we conſider this matter, whether we derive thoſe princes from a Vandalic or a Venedic original, their deſcent will be of ſufficient antiquity to vie with that of any other ſovereign family in Europe. 747. Reign of Witzan.

WITZAN was a cotemporary to Charlemagne, and is known in hiſtory by his alliance with that prince againſt the Saxons. The motive of this alliance, on the ſide of the Franconian monarch, was ambition and conqueſt; but that of Witzan was ſelf-preſervation: for the Saxons were grown ſo powerful, as to contend for empire a long time with the Franks, and become formidable to all their neighbours. Among theſe were the Venedi, who had ſettled on the Baltic, and from their proximity were expoſed to the inroads and inſults of that mighty nation. As we ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention the tranſactions of theſe

* See the ſecond table. † Spener, Gebhardi.

people,

people, and their hiſtory is in ſome meaſure intermixed with that of the Venedi, it will be neceſſary to give an account of their original *.

Account of the Saxons.

THE Saxons were a German nation, ſo called from the word Sachs †, which in their language ſignified thoſe ſhort ſwords they made uſe of in war ‡. They were not known to the Romans by the name of Saxons till the 4th century. There were four different tribes of them; the Weſtphalians, the Angrivarians, and the Oſt or Eaſtphalians, who occupied the country between the river Ems in Eaſt Frieſland and the Elbe; and the Nordalbingians, who dwelt on the right ſide of the Elbe in the Cherſoneſus Cimbrica, as far as the river Eyder and the frontiers of Mecklenburg. This laſt diviſion contains the preſent Holſtein, and is ſuppoſed to have been the original country of the Saxons. As other German nations fought their fortunes by land, theſe people improved theirs by ſea, being very expert in the art of navigation, an art which enabled them to undertake ſo many foreign expeditions, and among the reſt that by which they eſtabliſhed themſelves in Britain. Between them and the Franks there had been long contentions, even in king Pepin's time, when they were at length ſubdued and obliged to pay an annual tribute. Upon the death of Pepin in 768, they attempted to throw off the Franconian yoke; but his ſon Charlemagne reduced them to their former ſubjection. The war which on this occaſion enſued, had been reſolved upon in 722 at the diet of Worms, at the inſtigation of Sturmio abbot of Fulda, whoſe reſentment aroſe from the violent behaviour of the Saxons towards his miſſionaries. Thus religion was the cauſe or pretext of this war, which proved the chief buſineſs of Charles's reign, and laſted, with ſome intervals, the ſpace of thirty-three years §.

772. War between the Franks and Saxons.

CHARLES hearing that the Saxons had violated the treaty concluded with Pepin, marched his army into their

* Annal. Fuld. Regino. † Witekind, ann. lib. i. c. 6.

‡ We find that the word of command which Hengiſt made uſe of to his men was Nimed eure ſachs; that is, Draw your ſwords. Nennius Hiſt. Britonum.

§ Annal. Fuld. Annal. Francor. Eginhard.

country,

country, and advanced to their capital poſt of Ereſburg, near Paderborn in Weſtphalia, celebrated for the temple of their god Irminſul *. The place was ſtrong both by nature and art; but notwithſtanding the obſtinate defence of the Saxons, headed by that able commander Witikind, the Franconian monarch made himſelf maſter of this ſeat of ſuperſtition, and demoliſhed the temple and idol. From thence he penetrated with his army as far as the Weſer, when the Saxons ſent deputies to treat of peace, which, upon their delivering up hoſtages for the performance of the articles, was accordingly granted. This peace 775.
was of no long continuance, the next favourable opportunity tempted them to have recourſe again to arms; but they were once more defeated, and obliged to ſubmit to the Franconian yoke. Theſe attempts of a whole nation to recover their liberty, the Franks were wont to diſtinguiſh by the odious name of rebellion †; and the Saxons themſelves afterwards beſtowed the ſame appellation on the like ſtruggles of the Obotrites. After a long and unſucceſsful war, in which their country was almoſt exhauſted, Wittekind and his brother Albion ſubmitted to Charlemagne, and were baptized at Attigny upon the
Aine. Charlemagne's zeal for his religion was ſo great, that he 785.
generally made the acceptance of the Goſpel a condition of peace: in this he alſo followed the maxims of ſound policy: for the miniſters of the Church, by preaching ſubmiſſion and obedience to that prince, contributed greatly to eſtabliſh his empire.

DURING thoſe long wars with the Saxons, we find that the Obotrites acted as auxiliaries to Charlemagne, and often made

* Suppoſed to have been the god of war.

† Perfida ac fœdifraga Saxonum gens—immenſam illius perfidi populi multitudinem—quanquam obſides dediſſent, rex illorum perfidiæ non immemor. Ann. Aſtronom. Theſe are the abuſive expreſſions the Franconian writers make uſe of with regard to the heathen Saxons; and the Chriſtian Saxons afterwards applied the very ſame to the Venedi before their converſion to Chriſtianity. Such is the cuſtom of nations to abuſe and vilify thoſe who differ from them in religion.

part of his armies. In 782 Witzan * marched a body of troops to Magdeburg, then only a fort upon the Elbe, and levelled it to the ground. But his zeal for the ſervice of Charlemagne proved fatal to him in the end, as it not only gave offence to the Saxons, but likewiſe to the Wilzi, a tribe of the Venedi, whoſe chief town was Dragawitum. This by ſome is ſuppoſed to be Dargun on the river Peene; but by others, with greater probability, is conjectured to be Dargelure, a ſmall town not far from the river Elden, one mile from Parchim, and two from Lubitz. The diſaffection of the Wilzi was productive of a civil war among the Venedi; the Wilzi applying for ſuccours to the Danes, and the Obotrites to the
786. Franks. Charlemagne, mindful of his friend king Witzan, flew to his aſſiſtance with a powerful army. As ſoon as he reached the banks of the Elbe, he threw two bridges over that river, at the heads of which he erected forts; and being joined by the Sorabi, the Obotrites, and the Friſians, he proceeded with his whole force into the country of the Wilzi. The prince of theſe people, not in the leaſt diſmayed by the junction of ſuch numerous forces, marched with the utmoſt intrepidity to meet them: but his ſucceſs proved unequal to his courage; he was defeated in ſeveral engagements, and obliged to ſue for peace; which, upon his giving proper hoſtages, and promiſing allegiance, was accordingly granted †.

War between the Franks and the Wilzi.

789. CHARLES having ſubdued the Wilzi, purſued his uſual ſcheme of ſtrengthening his power by the eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian religion ‡. At what place the Wilzi were baptized it

* The Annales Laureſhamenſes by miſtake make Witzan a prince of the Wilzi; but in this they are contradicted by all the other Annals, as Bert. Fuld. & Egoliſm. and even their account of Witzan's death makes him a king of the Obotrites.

† Annal. reg. Franc. Annal. Fuld. Regino. Albert. Stad.

‡ With this view he erected ten biſhoprics in Saxony; Oſnabrug in 772; Halberſtadt in 776; Bremen in 779; Minden in 780; Paderborn in 784; Verden in 786; Magdeburg in 784; Munſter in 784; Hildeſheim in 796; and Hamburg in 798.

it is difficult to determine; though there are ſome who pretend that this ceremony was performed not far from Wiſmar, in the field known by the name of the Sacred Harbour *, and in the village of Preſeken upon the river Funta. However that may be, upon the reduction of the country of the Wilzi, the new Chriſtians were made ſubject to the juriſdiction of the biſhop of Verden. This appears by the diploma of the foundation of that church in 786; and though that inſtrument has not all the marks of genuineneſs, perhaps it is right in this particular, that Charlemagne ſubjected the Wilzi, ſituate between the Peene and the Eldena, to the ſee of Verden.

795. War between the Franks and Saxons renewed.

THINGS remained quiet for ſome time in theſe quarters, till the Saxons, notwithſtanding their late converſion, had again recourſe to arms, with a view of recovering their liberty. Charles was then employed in a project of joining the Danube to the Rhine, by means of a canal ‡ which he cauſed to be dug from the Altmul § to the Retnitz ‖. But the revolt of the Saxons interrupted thoſe projects, ſo wiſely calculated for the advancement of commerce. Being determined to chaſtiſe this refractory nation, the Franconian monarch marched a numerous army into Saxony, and diſpatched at the ſame time a meſſenger to Witzan, deſiring him to join the Franks with all his forces. Witzan, faithful to his alliance, aſſembled a body of troops, and directed his march towards the banks of the Elbe. As ſoon as Charles arrived at the village of Bardengau, not far from Bardewick, he pitched his camp, and determined to wait for the junction of the Venedi. But he had not been long in this poſition, when news came that Witzan, in attempting to paſs the

798. Chron. Mind. In regard to Hamburg, Anſcharius, a French Benedictine monk, was the firſt archbiſhop of that city. He was called the Northern Apoſtle, having preached Chriſtianity in Sweden and Denmark.

* Heiligen Hafner Felde. Gebhardi thinks this ſhould be underſtood rather of the Obotrites than of the Wilzi.

‡ Some are of opinion that the remains of this canal are ſtill to be ſeen near the town of Weiſſenburg in Franconia.

§ A river of Franconia, which falls into the Danube near Keilheim in Bavaria.

‖ Another river of Franconia, which diſcharges itſelf into the Maine.

Death of Witzan.

Elbe, had fallen into an ambuſcade, and, after an obſtinate engagement, in which he had exerted uncommon acts of valour, both he and his men were cut off by the enemy. This misfortune happened at a place which the annaliſts of the Franks diſtinguiſh by the name of Liuni, and is ſuppoſed to be the town of Lunenburg *. Charles was ſo greatly concerned at the loſs of his friend and ally, that he wreaked his vengeance on the Saxons, abandoning their country to the rage of an incenſed ſoldiery.

We ſhall pauſe here a while, to conſider the nature and conſequence of the union between the Obotrites and Charlemagne. The Franks ſeem to have purſued the maxims of the Romans, in courting the alliances of weaker ſtates, under the appearance of amity and friendſhip; while the real deſign was to promote their own intereſt, or to gratify the purpoſes of ambition. The quarrels of their allies furniſhed them with frequent opportunities of interfering as mediators, and of gaining ſo great an aſcendant over thoſe people, as to render it difficult for them to ſhake off the connexion. But when their poſterity became weary of this connexion, and endeavoured to aſſert their native freedom, the more powerful ſtate aſſumed the air of ſovereignty, and treated this ſpirit of independency as treaſon and rebellion. Inſnared by this artifice, the Obotrites, who had been a free and independent nation at the time they acted as auxiliaries to Charlemagne, were brought under a kind of vaſſalage to his ſucceſſors. Yet this vaſſalage is to be conſidered as no more than the dependence of a weaker on a ſtronger ally, and not as any feudal ſubjection. They paid an acknowledgment, it is true, to ſome of the ſucceſſors of Charlemagne; but it was by way of ſubſidy, and as a return for the benefits received of thoſe princes, for their friendly aſſiſtance. In other reſpects they diſclaimed

* Ann. Laureſh. Eccard. Sigeb. Gembl. Dominus Carolus rex in Saxoniam intrans pervenit ad fluvium Albim, in locum Luini. Biogragh. Caroli Mag. apud Pithæum. Carolus pervenit uſque ad locum, quem vocant Luini. Ann. Fuld.

any

any ſubjection to the Franks, and always conſidered themſelves as a free people *.

V. TRASCO,

The Fifth KING of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES.

From the YEAR 795 to 810.

EMPEROR of GERMANY, CHARLEMAGNE, 800.

KING of ENGLAND, EGBERT, 801.

WITZAN left three ſons, Traſco, Godlieb †, and Slaomir; but the name of their mother is not known. The crown devolved on Traſco, his eldeſt ſon, who, following the example of his father, ſteadily adhered to his alliance with the Franks, and his enmity againſt the Saxons. Of this he gave an early inſtance in the commencement of his reign, when the Tranſalbian Saxons had raiſed freſh diſturbances, and ſlew Charlemagne's legates or military prefects. To quell this inſurrection Charles marched an army into Saxony, and was arrived in the neighbourhood of Bardewick, when Traſco collecting his forces, and joining Ebariſus ‡ the king's legate, gave battle to the enemy.

795. Traſco ſucceeds to the crown.

798.

* Buckholtz, Kluver, Bacmeiſter, Beehr.

† This prince was afterwards put to death by Godfrey king of Denmark: he is ſaid to have had three ſons, Rurich, Suwar, and Truwar, from whom the great dukes of Ruſſia were deſcended. This is mentioned as an ancient tradition: but we do not pretend to vouch for the truth of it.

‡ The Annales reg. Francor. call him as above; but the Annal. Fuld. give him the name of Eburiſius; and by Regino he is ſtiled Helbruinus. The account of this battle in the Annales Lambecciani is ſomewhat curious: the author ſays firſt, Congregati ſunt Slavi noſtri; from whence M. Gebhardi infers that they were tributary or ſubject to the kings of the Franks; whereas noſtri might as well imply our allies, or the Slavi on our ſide. Next he takes notice that although the Obotrites erant fanatici, yet the faith and religion of the Chriſtians and of the king contributed to render them victorious over the Saxons. The word fanatici, among the

Gains a victory over the Saxons.

enemy. The engagement was obſtinate and bloody; but at length the Saxons were totally routed. This action happened in the camp of Suentina, ſo called from the river Suentina, which divides Wagria from Holſtein, and in the neighbourhood of Bornhovede, the ancient boundary of Saxony *. Traſco led the victorious Obotrites into Northuringia, where he met with a very kind reception from Charlemagne, who was highly pleaſed with this prince's bravery and good conduct †. To puniſh the Saxons for their revolt, he tranſplanted great numbers of them into other parts of Germany, and ſent a conſiderable colony of Franks to people their country.

Incurſions of the Normans.

ABOUT the ſame time the Normans, that is, the Men of the North, by which word were underſtood the inhabitants of Jutland, began to render themſelves famous for their depredations, with which they infeſted a conſiderable part of Europe. This obliged Charlemagne to provide for the ſecurity of the ſea-coaſts, by erecting fortreſſes at the mouths of moſt of the great rivers, by ſtationing a regular militia along the ſhore, and by fitting out ſquadrons againſt thoſe pirates. The neglect of this precaution under his ſucceſſors emboldened theſe northern adventurers to renew their expeditions, which proved ſo deſtructive to the French as well as to other nations. Charles having made theſe diſpoſitions, undertook a journey to Rome, to enquire into the violences that had been committed by the Romans againſt pope Leo III. After he had heard the complaints of the citizens, he determined in favour of the pontiff, and puniſhed his accuſers. This ſentence was followed by an extraordinary ſcene on Chriſtmas-day, when Leo, with the conſent of the people of Rome, proclaimed Charles emperor of the Romans, and placed the Imperial crown on his head. Thus the Roman empire, which had been deſtroyed under Auguſtulus by the king of the

800.

Charlemagne proclaimed emperor.

writers of the middle ages, implies heathens: hence it is plain that the Obotrites either had not as yet embraced or muſt have afterwards renounced Chriſtianity.

* Adam Brem. † Poeta anonymous, Albert Stad. Ann. Fuld. Bertin, Laureſh.

Heruli,

Heruli, was revived by the election of the people of Rome in favour of Charles and the Franks *.

NOT long after this tranſaction happened the eighth and laſt revolt of the Saxons, to which they had been excited by Godfrey king of Denmark, who was jealous of the over-grown power of Charlemagne. The emperor, with his uſual diligence, entered Saxony with ſo formidable an army, that after ſome faint attempts of reſiſtance, the inhabitants were obliged to ſubmit. Incenſed at their repeated inſurrections, he reſolved to prevent any future attempts of that kind, by tranſplanting 10,000 Tranſalbian families into the heart of his dominions in Switzerland, Picardy, and the Netherlands †. Deſirous alſo of ſhewing ſome regard to Traſco, for his ſteady and faithful adherence to his engagements, he made a grant to that prince of the Tranſalbian villages, to which he afterwards added Nordalbingia. By Nordalbingia was underſtood the country of Saxony beyond the Elbe, containing the ancient Holſtein, Stormar, and Ditmarſh, which, together with Wagria, conſtitute the preſent duchy of Holſtein. In proceſs of time this country became part of the duchy of Saxony; and duke Lotharius, afterwards emperor in 1106, erected Holſtein and Stormar into a county, conferring it as a fief on Adolphus I. count of Schawenburg: under this prince's ſon, Adolphus II. Wagria alſo became incorporated into the county of Holſtein. But at the time of the above-mentioned grant of Charlemagne, Wagria in all probability was already ſubject to Traſco, as appears by the frequent marches of that prince's army to the Saxon frontiers, which could not ſo eaſily have been performed, had the Saxons been in poſſeſſion of that province. Some pretend that this country was ceded to Traſco, on condition of vaſſalage to the kings of the Franks; but of this we have not ſufficient proof. 804.

The Saxons intirely ſubdued.

DURING the late expedition into Saxony Charlemagne pitched his camp at a place called Hollenſtedt in the diſtrict of Moiſburch,

* Eginhardi, Annal. Fuld. Annal. Metens. Adon. Chron. † Ann. Eginhardi.

about

about two miles from the Elbe: here he determined the differences among the ſeveral princes of the Venedi, who repaired to his camp *, and appointed Traſco to preſide over the whole nation †. The Saxons being now thoroughly ſubdued, a peace was concluded at Saltz, by which the remaining part of the inhabitants of that country were permitted to enjoy their rights, immunities, and laws, on condition of embracing Chriſtianity, paying the tithes to the clergy, and ſubmitting to the Imperial judges.

War between the Danes and Obotrites.

At this very juncture Godfrey king of Denmark propoſed an interview with Charlemagne, in order to effect a reconciliation between the two nations ‡. With this deſign he repaired to Theſtorp §, on the confines of Denmark and Saxony, eſcorted by all the cavalry in his kingdom. But he was perſuaded by ſome of his courtiers not to proceed any farther; ſo that the conference did not take place, and the enmity between the Danes and Franks, and conſequently the Obotrites, 808. ſtill ſubſiſted. At length this animoſity broke out into an open war; and Godfrey having entered into an alliance with the Wilzi, the inveterate enemies of the Obotrites, as alſo with the Smeldingi ‖ and the Linones, invaded the country of the Obotrites with a powerful army ¶. He ſoon made himſelf maſter of ſome caſtles on the ſea-coaſt, and taking advantage of a jealouſy or diſtruſt between Traſco and his people **, puſhed

* Ann. Lambecc. Ann. Met.

† The Ann. Met. ſay, Regem illis Traſconem conſtituit. This ſome underſtand as if he only confirmed the ſovereignty, which the kings of the Obotrites had already obtained over the other tribes of the Venedi. This likewiſe ſerves to refute M. Gebhardi, who pretends that the kings of the Obotrites never had the empire of this whole coaſt.

‡ Annal. Metens.

§ The Annals of Eginhard have Slieſtorpe, which is ſuppoſed to be Sleſwick, or ſome other place on the Slye; and from hence we aſcertain the boundaries of Godfrey and Traſco's dominions.

‖ The Smeldingi are ſuppoſed to have been a tribe of the Wilzi.

¶ Annal. Bertin. Laureſham. Poeta Saxo, Egoliſm. Eginhard.

** The cauſe of this jealouſy is not mentioned by hiſtorians; perhaps it might be owing to Traſco's adhering ſo ſteadily to his alliance with the Franks.

his

his conqueſts with amazing rapidity. Traſco, not caring to rely on the fidelity of his troops, was obliged to retire; ſo that the command devolved on Godlieb, his ſecond brother, who was taken priſoner, and, what ſtrongly characteriſes the manners of thoſe days, was barbarouſly hanged. Godfrey then reduced a conſiderable part of the country, not without the loſs, however, of many of his beſt troops, and among the reſt of his own nephew Reinholdus, who was killed at the ſiege of a town, the name of which I do not find mentioned. Theſe dear-bought victories, weakened him to ſuch a degree, that advice being brought that the emperor's eldeſt ſon Charles was upon his march towards the Elbe, with a conſiderable army, he re-embarked his troops, and retreated to his own kingdom, after deſtroying Rorich or Rerich *, at that time the capital of the Obotrites. As ſoon as he arrived at Slieſtorp, he ſhewed his ſkill in providing for the ſecurity of his dominions, by erecting a great wall, whoſe ruins are ſtill admired, to prevent his ſubjects from being plundered by the incurſions of the Venedi †.

Origin of Hamburg.

DURING this interval prince Charles having paſſed the Elbe, marched his army againſt the Smeldingi and the Linones, laying waſte their country with fire and ſword. After he had exerciſed theſe ſeverities, he brought back his forces, in conſequence of an order from the emperor his father, and erected two forts on the Elbe, with a view of repelling the incurſions of the Wilzi; the command of thoſe forts he conferred on counts, who, from guarding the limits were diſtinguiſhed by the name of margraves. The fort on the north ſide of the river was called Hamburg or Hammenburg, or the caſtle near the wood (Hamme, in the old German language, ſignifying a wood) from a thicket diſtant about a mile from the ſpot

* The word Reric is ſaid to have the ſame ſignification in the Sclavonian language as Mechel in the German, that is, great or large; ſo that Reric emporium, in the words of the Franconian annaliſts, implies Mecklenburg, or the great city, the capital of the Obotrites.

† Ann. Bertin. Laureſham. Egoliſm. Eginhard. Meten.

where

where now ſtands the city of Hamburg. It ſeems indeed as if this had been a town of the Nordalbingians before the days of Charlemagne; but ſince the above circumſtance it became more noted in hiſtory. The firſt commander of this fort was the very perſon who erected it, viz. one Odo or Uto, by whom it was called Hochbuchi or Hochburg, the High Fort; the north banks of the Elbe being very ſteep in this neighbourhood. It was taken and razed by the Wilzi two years after; but Charlemagne cauſed it to be rebuilt; and as it was cuſtomary for the neighbouring inhabitants to live in thoſe forts, it ſoon became a populous city. Charlemagne erected the firſt church in 811; his ſon Lewis the Debonnaire made it an archbiſhopric in 833, and the mother of all the churches in Nordalbingia *.

SUCH was the original of a city which afterwards roſe to ſo high a pitch, and makes ſo great a figure in the following hiſtory. It ſtands upon the borders of that part of Holſtein called Stormar, about ſeventy-two miles from the mouth of the Elbe. This ſpacious river forms two commodious harbours, and runs in canals through the greateſt part of the city. The tide flows ſixteen miles above the town, which derives from thence ſuch a conveniency for trade as hath raiſed it to its preſent degree of power and opulence, and long rendered it the great ſtaple of Germany.

809. War between the Obotrites and the Wilzi renewed.

THE enſuing year Traſco concluded a peace with the Danes, and gave his ſon a hoſtage to Godfrey, to demonſtrate the ſincerity of his reconciliation, and to prevent that prince from interrupting his deſign againſt the Wilzi. This tribe of the Venedi was then ſubject to a prince named Liudi, who had availed himſelf of the aſſiſtance of Denmark to throw off his ſubjection to Traſco, and ſeduced ſeveral others to follow his example. Traſco intending to reduce thoſe people to his obedience, entered into an alliance with the Saxons, who ſupplied him with a body of auxiliaries. Having aſſembled a conſiderable army, he marched againſt the enemy, who were commanded by their prince Liudi

* Ann. Bertin. Laureſham. Egoliſm. Eginhard.

in

in perſon. At length the two armies meeting, an engagement enſued, in which the Wilzi were defeated, and Liudi himſelf was ſlain. Traſco, after ravaging the whole country, returned with an immenſe booty, and thus concluded a moſt ſucceſsful campaign. The next year he received farther ſuccours from the Saxons, by means of which he intended to complete the reduction of the Wilzi. The unproſperous events of the laſt campaign had ſo greatly diſcouraged this nation, that they were able to make but a very feeble reſiſtance. Traſco purſuing his conqueſts, laid ſiege to the capital of the Smeldingi *, which was obliged to ſurrender; and the other towns being ſtruck with the terror of his arms, followed the example of the capital. Theſe ſucceſſes made an impreſſion on the ſeveral provinces that had revolted from their ſovereign, and obliged them to return to their duty. Having thus recovered his loſt territories, Traſco returned triumphant to Reric, where he was received with the acclamations of his people. But their joy was of ſhort duration; for after all theſe ſignal ſucceſſes, the gallant Traſco fell this ſame year by the hands of a barbarous aſſaſſin, in the midſt of his own capital, and ſurrounded by his ſubjects: what is more extraordinary, the miſcreant is ſaid to have been hired by king Godfrey, who was alarmed at the Venedic monarch's ſucceſſes, and jealous of his glory †. This is according to the annaliſts of the Franks, who have thrown the ſuſpicion of that prince's death on king Godfrey; but their prejudice againſt a monarch who was a bitter enemy to Charlemagne, might render them more liable to entertain this ſuſpicion. The character of king

Death of Traſco.

* From this account of the annals of the Franks, it is plain that the Smeldingi were a tribe of the Wilzi; and that they reſided near the Elde, is likely from the ſound of their name. But the difficulty is to know which was the capital of the Smeldingi, or, as the old annaliſts call it, Maxima civitas Smeldingorum. I apprehend it to be the Regia Wilzorum, or the capital mentioned by the continuator of Nibelongus, not far from Eldena, and formerly known by the name of Dragowitz.

† Annal. Bertin. Laureſham. and Engoliſm. Helmold. Regino. Adelmus. Crantz, Bangert. Beehr, Kluver, Buckholtz.

Godfrey, as delivered by the Daniſh hiſtorians, is that of a generous prince, who would certainly have abhorred the thoughts of ſo baſe a crime as that of aſſaſſination.

VI. SLAOMIR,

The Sixth KING of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES.

From the YEAR 810 to 818.

EMPERORS of the WEST,

CHARLEMAGNE, 800. LEWIS the DEBONNAIRE, 814.

KING of ENGLAND, EGBERT, 801.

810. Slaomir ſucceeds to the crown.

UPON the demiſe of Traſco the crown of right devolved to Ceadragus or Ceadrach, his only ſon; but this prince being then an infant, Slaomir aſſumed the reins of government, as guardian to his nephew, and was afterwards, by means of his connexion with Charlemagne, acknowledged ſovereign in his own right.

War between the Danes and Franks.

The Wilzi, finding themſelves ſupported by Godfrey king of Denmark, took and demoliſhed the fort of Hochbuchi, while that monarch with a powerful army overran Eaſt Frieſland, and ſome other provinces of Germany. After theſe ſucceſſes, this heroic prince was in full march to Aix-la-Chapelle, at that time the capital of Charlemagne's empire, when he was murdered in his own tent by a private centinel. Various are the conjectures concerning the inſtigators of that treacherous deed: ſome imagine the aſſaſſin to have been hired by the Franks, in order to remove this formidable enemy, who threatened the ſubverſion of their empire; others ſuppoſe the murder to have been committed by his own ſon, in revenge for having divorced his mother. However that may have been, the exceſſive joy which Charlemagne expreſſed at this prince's death, ſhews how greatly he was dreaded by that emperor.

UPON

UPON the death of Godfrey, his ſon acquainted Charlemagne with his inclinations to a peace, which was accordingly concluded; and Charles brought back his army acroſs the Elbe againſt the Linones, who in the late commotions had joined with Denmark. In revenge he laid waſte their country, and rebuilt the fort of Hochbuchi, which the preceding year had been deſtroyed by the Wilzi. Theſe people ſoon after attempted to throw off the yoke; but they only expoſed themſelves to farther outrages: being unable to oppoſe the forces ſent againſt them, they laid down their arms, and gave hoſtages as a ſecurity for their future behaviour *. 811. 812.

THIS event was ſoon followed by the death of Charlemagne, a prince whoſe name alone is ſufficient to form his eulogium: he died of a pleuriſy at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 28th of January. His phyſicians were ſo ignorant as not to underſtand the nature of his diſtemper. He bequeathed by his will the kingdom of Italy to Bernard, the ſon of his eldeſt ſon Pepin; and the empire, with the reſt of his dominions, to his only ſurviving ſon Lewis I. ſurnamed the Debonnaire. 814. Death of Charlemagne

THE death of Charlemagne was a ſenſible loſs to Slaomir, who had experienced the good effects of that great prince's alliance. Lewis, his ſon and ſucceſſor, did not ſeem ſo well affected to the Obotrites; and entertained but an indifferent opinion of Slaomir's right to the crown. This appeared from his behaviour towards that prince immediately after the deceaſe of Charlemagne, when he ordered him to quit Nordalbingia or the Tranſalbine lands, and reſtore them to their ancient poſſeſſors. The Saxons were now perfectly reconciled to the government of the Franks; which was the reaſon of this new regulation in their favour. Slaomir muſt have been ſenſibly affected to behold himſelf ſtripped of dominions, which had been granted by Charlemagne to his brother, as a reward for his long and faithful ſervices; ſtill he thought proper to comply with the emperor's orders. But this was not the only Ill behaviour of Lewis the Debonnaire to Slaomir. 814.

* Annal. Bertin. Engoliſm. Laureſham. Fuld. † Aſtron. in vit. Ludov. Pii.

mortification he underwent from that quarter: his kingdom being now reduced within the ancient limits of Wagria and the country of the Obotrites, the emperor had no right to any homage or ſuperiority on account of dominions on this
815. ſide of the Elbe; yet he commanded Slaomir to join his troops with Baldric the Imperial general, in order to ſupport Harold Klack in his pretenſions to the crown of Denmark.

THAT northern kingdom had, ever ſince the deceaſe of Godfrey, been involved in a civil war, which, from the moſt flouriſhing ſtate, reduced it to the brink of deſtruction. Godfrey was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Olaus III. who endeavouring to bring the regicides to juſtice, had the misfortune
811. of meeting with the ſame untimely fate as his father. To him ſucceeded Hemingus, his only child, who reigned but one year,
812. and left the kingdom to his two couſins Siward and Ringo. The former was grandſon of king Godfrey, by a daughter who had been married to Siward king of Norway. The latter was alſo a grandſon of Godfrey, by a ſon whoſe name is no-where mentioned. Between theſe two princes jealouſy and quarrels, the conſequence of rivalſhip and ambition, broke out, and Denmark was become a ſcene of ſlaughter and confuſion. At length they came to a deciſive engagement, in which Ringo was ſlain, and Siward, though victorious, received a mortal wound, of which
814. he died the next day. He left an only ſon, the famous king Regner, who was recalled from Norway (whither he had been ſent for ſafety by his father's friends) and placed on the throne of Denmark. Ringo had two ſons, Harold ſurnamed Klack, and Eric I. The former was ſoon after proclaimed king by the Jutlanders, in the abſence of Regner, who was gone upon an expedition to Norway, at that time invaded by Froe king of Sweden. The emperor Lewis the Debonnaire eſpouſed the cauſe of Harold, and ſent Baldric, one of his generals, in conjunction with a ſtrong body of Saxons and Obotrites, under the command of Slaomir, to ſupport that prince's claim. But Regner was now returned from Norway, where he had defeated

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the Swedes; and, with the ſame good fortune, he attacked Harold's army, and gained a complete victory. Harold was obliged to fly to Germany, and his adherents thought proper for that time to ſubmit *. The particulars of Slaomir's conduct in this expedition have not been tranſmitted to us by hiſtorians †; we know, however, that he was not hearty in the cauſe (having ſo many reaſons to be offended with the emperor) and that he returned ſafe to his own dominions ‡.

816. War between Slaomir and the emperor.

Soon after Slaomir's return happened an event, which intirely exaſperated this prince againſt Lewis, and determined him to ſhake off the Imperial yoke. His nephew Ceadragus was arrived to the age of maturity, when, ſeeing himſelf excluded from the government, to which he had an undoubted right, he applied to the emperor for redreſs, alledging, that he was the only ſon of Traſco, who had ſo long adhered to his engagements with Charlemagne. The emperor approved of his plea, and publiſhed a decree that the uncle and nephew ſhould jointly enjoy the ſovereignty; but the ambition of thoſe two princes proved greatly prejudicial to themſelves and their family, and involved the whole nation in heavy calamities. Slaomir, tenacious of his power, could not bear a divided throne; or that he, who had been acknowledged a ſovereign by Charlemagne, ſhould, by that prince's ſon, be diveſted of part of his ſovereignty. Upon receiving the Imperial decree in favour of Ceadragus, he was incapable of concealing his reſent-

* Eric of Pomerania, Suaning, Saxo, Pontanus.

† We have given the beſt account we could procure of this part of the Daniſh hiſtory, acknowledging it at the ſame time to be very imperfect. The writers of the annals of the Franks have ſtrangely mangled the names of the Daniſh princes; thus Harold they call Heriholtus, and Regner Reginfredus; and Ringo, by a Latinization, they have made Annulus, which ſignifies a ring. The Daniſh writers themſelves are extremely confuſed, and repugnant to each other, eſpecially in regard to chronology. In this particular they and the annals of the Franks ſeldom or never agree.

‡ Ann. Ful. Bertin. Aſtron. in vit. Lud.

ment;

ment; but openly declared he would never paſs the Elbe again to aſſiſt the Franks, nor appear any more at the emperor's
817. court. He then entered into an alliance with the Danes *, and prevailed on that crown to ſend an army into Tranſalbine Saxony. The Daniſh fleet ſailed up the Elbe as far as Eſelsfeld, a town built by Charlemagne, and now called Itzehoe †. After they had ravaged the banks of the river Sturia, Ecluomi, governor of the Norman boundary, drew out all his infantry, and, in conjunction with the Obotrites under Slaomir, directed his march towards the town. The garriſon made a very good defence; which the combined army not expecting to meet with, grew ſick of the enterprize, and at length were obliged to raiſe the ſiege ‡.

818. Slaomir depoſed. LEWIS being apprized of the defection of the Obotrites, and of the engagements which Slaomir had openly contracted with the Danes, ſent a conſiderable army of Saxons and Franks, with orders to paſs the Elbe in ſearch of the enemy. It is true, however, that the whole nation of the Obotrites had not joined with Slaomir; particularly Ceadragus oppoſed his colleague, and moreover, by his deputies at the Imperial
819. court, engaged to adhere to his alliance. Slaomir, unable to withſtand ſo many enemies, and not being ſupported in time by the Danes, was obliged at length to ſurrender himſelf to the Imperial legates, and conducted priſoner to Aix-la-Chapelle. Hither he was followed by the chief nobility of the Obotrites, who charged him with ſeveral crimes, beſides that of his defection to the Danes. Being unable to acquit himſelf to the ſatisfaction of the court, he was condemned to

* The Annal. Bertin. mention the ſons of Godfrey on this occaſion; but it is certain, from the Daniſh hiſtorians, that Olaus ſon of Godfrey was dead by this time; and we read of no other ſon of his that reigned in Denmark. Indeed the French annaliſts of thoſe days ſeems to be extremely ignorant in whatever does not immediately relate to their own nation.

† A town of Holſtein on the river Stor, formerly called Sturia, ten miles north-eaſt of Gluckſtadt.

‡ Annal. Fuld. & Bertin.

baniſhment,

baniſhment *, and the crown was ſettled on the lawful heir Ceadragus, now ſole king of the Obotrites †.

VII. CEADRAGUS,

The Seventh KING of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES.

From the YEAR 819 to 830.

EMPEROR of the WEST, LEWIS the DEBONNAIRE, 814.

KING of ENGLAND, EGBERT, 801.

819. Ceadragus raiſed to the Venedic throne.

NO ſooner was Ceadragus ſeated on the throne of the Venedi than he began to think of aſſerting the liberty of a nation, which, by domeſtic diviſions, was inſenſibly become ſubject to the monarchy of the Franks. Uneaſy at this ſituation, he propoſed an alliance to the court of Denmark, for their mutual de- 821. fence, and for reſcuing or preſerving their ſubjects from the Imperial yoke. The Danes had as much reaſon as the Venedi to be jealous of the power of the Franks, whoſe monarchy was riſen to ſo amazing an height, as ſeemed to threaten ſlavery to the reſt of Europe. A treaty was therefore concluded between the two nations, upon the ſame plan as that which had been lately ſigned by Slaomir, whoſe misfortunes were no manner of warning to Ceadragus. The deſigns of this prince being diſcovered to the Imperial court, Lewis was ſeized with ſuch indignation, that he reſolved to puniſh Ceadragus, by replacing

* Bangert ſays that Slaomir was made priſoner; but the Annales Bertiniani, from which he takes his account, only mention that he was conducted to Aix-la-Chapelle.

† Annal. Bertin. & Fuld.

Slaomir,

Slaomir, that prince's uncle *, on the throne of the Venedi. Slaomir, preferring the ſtate of a dependent prince to that of an exile †, immediately embraced the emperor's offer, and ſet out for his own country, in order to take poſſeſſion of the government. But ſcarce was he arrived in Saxony when he
821. was ſeized with an illneſs, which brought him to his grave, after he had received the ſacrament of baptiſm. If this laſt circumſtance be true ‡, Slaomir was the firſt Chriſtian prince of his family §.

822. Differences between Ceadragus and Lewis the Debonnaire. CEADRAGUS being now freed from a formidable rival, reſolved to prevent any further uneaſineſs, by making his peace with Lewis the Debonnaire. A diet ‖ being then aſſembled at Frankfort, he took a very politic ſtep, in ſending ambaſſadors to pay his reſpects to the emperor. The ambaſſadors were loaded with preſents for that prince, who accepted of Ceadra-
823. gus's ſubmiſſion. But the ſtorm was not yet blown over; the diet continuing to ſit, or being again aſſembled in the ſame city the enſuing month of May, the Venedic monarch was publickly accuſed of treachery to the Franks, and of having refuſed to pay his obeiſance in perſon to the emperor. Such an effect had this accuſation, that commiſſaries were ſent into the country of the Obotrites to enquire into the conduct of Ceadragus, and to make

* The Annal. Bertin. make uſe of the word avunculus on this occaſion: the Annal. Ful. and thoſe publiſhed by Leukfeld, have the word æmulus, inſtead of avunculus. But the Annal. Bertin. are thought to be the moſt correct; and the reaſon why Slaomir is generally believed to have been uncle to Ceadragus was, becauſe the cuſtom or conſtitution of the Obotrites rejected all princes that were not of the royal family.

† We do not find to what place Slaomir had been baniſhed; perhaps he was detained priſoner at Aix-la-Chapelle.

‡ M. Gebhardi ſeems to doubt of it; yet the Annal. Bertin. are poſitive with regard to this circumſtance: Qui cum in Saxoniam veniſſet, ægritudine decubuit, perceptoque baptiſmi ſacramento defunctus eſt.

§ Annal. Bertin. Fuld. Aimoinius.

‖ The Annal. Bertin. and Eginhard make uſe of the word placitum. They were not like the preſent diets of Germany, but a kind of aſſizes or court-days, as Monteſquieu calls them, in which the emperor heard cauſes and gave judgment in perſon.

their

their report to the imperial court. Ceadragus thinking it imprudent to oppoſe the commiſſaries by open force, had recourſe to his former artifice, and ſent another embaſſy to juſtify his conduct, with aſſurances that he would wait upon the emperor in perſon the enſuing winter. Accordingly he kept his promiſe, and appeared, with a conſiderable retinue, at Compeigne, where Lewis at that time reſided. Here he entered into a juſtification of his meaſures; but moſt artfully diſguiſed his tampering with the Danes. Though his apology was very plauſible, and delivered in the moſt nervous language, yet there were ſo many parts of his behaviour liable to ſuſpicion, that in all probability he would have been dethroned and baniſhed, had not the merits of his father and grandfather, more than his own eloquence, pleaded in his favour. Lewis in his great lenity concluded it would be more prudent to overlook what had paſſed, and to endeavour to make Ceadragus his friend, than to irritate the whole nation; hence it came to paſs that inſtead of proceeding againſt him with ſeverity, he diſmiſſed him loaded with preſents *.

823. Diſpute of two brothers about the kingdom of the Wilzi.

THIS ſame year, in the month of May, happened a curious tranſaction at the above-mentioned diet or placitum of Frankfort. Among the ſeveral deputies of barbarous † nations at this aſſembly were two brothers, who conteſted with each other the ſucceſſion to the kingdom of the Wilzi, and came to plead their cauſe before the emperor's tribunal: their names were Melegaſtus and Celadragus, ſons of Liudi king of the Wilzi, who had reigned jointly with his brothers, though the ſovereignty, ſtrictly ſpeaking, was inveſted in him, as the eldeſt of the family. This prince being ſlain, together with his brothers, in the battle againſt the Obotrites in 809, the Wilzi

* Annal. Bertin. Eginhard.

† The Franks at this time began to have the vanity of diſtinguiſhing the northern nations which had not as yet embraced Chriſtianity by the name of barbarians: this was imitating the Greek and Roman pride, and ſhews the weakneſs of human prejudice.

choſe Melegaſtus, his eldeſt ſon, to ſucceed him. But his adminiſtration proving highly diſagreeable to the nation, and unworthy of a good prince, they thought proper to depoſe him, and to confer the government on the younger brother. Melegaſtus made his complaint to the emperor, and they were both ſummoned to appear at the diet of Frankfort. Lewis heard the allegations on each ſide; but finding the inclinations of the people to run ſtrongly in favour of Celadragus, he confirmed their choice, and diſmiſſed both the brothers with preſents, after exacting an oath of fidelity *.

THIS paſſage is worthy of our attention, as ſome inferences may be drawn from it with regard to the hiſtory of the Venedi. Firſt, it ſhews the falſity of the accounts of the Poliſh writers, Dugloſſus, Cromerus, and others, concerning the extenſive dominions of king Lechus, who is ſaid to have been cotemporary with Charlemagne, and to have divided among his ſons the whole country of the Slavi or Venedi, as far as Saxony and Thuringia. In the next place, it proves that the ſubjection of the Venedi to the monarchy of the Franks, was more owing to the inteſtine diviſions of the former, than to any right the latter had to a ſuperiority over the Venedic nation. Had Melegaſtus governed his people according to their eſtabliſhed laws, or had both the brothers lived in harmony and friendſhip, there would have been no appeal to a foreign juriſdiction †.

As this is the laſt time we find any mention in hiſtory of the kings of the Wilzi, it is proper to obſerve, that notwithſtanding the great variance between thoſe princes and the kings of the Obotrites at the time of Charlemagne and Lewis the Debonnaire, they were very probably all of the ſame family. The

* Annal. Franc. Vita Lud. Pii. Annal. Bertin.

† Another inference M. Gebhardi draws from this paſſage is, that it ſhews the miſtake of the hiſtorians of Mecklenburg, in making but one king of the Venedi, whoſe juriſdiction extended over the whole ſouthern coaſt of the Baltic. But thoſe hiſtorians do not deny that there were many principalities and petty ſovereignties of the Venedic tribes along the Baltic ſhore: all they maintain is, that the principal tribe was that of the Obotrites, whoſe princes claimed a ſuperior juriſdiction over the reſt.

princes

princes of the Wilzi are ſuppoſed to have been of the line of Billung I. an uncle of Witzan or Witſlau king of the Obotrites. The miſunderſtanding between thoſe two branches, as I have before obſerved, was owing to the ſtrict alliance between the Obotrites and the Franks, to the latter of whom the Wilzi had a ſtrong averſion. But upon the extinction of Witzan's line, and the ſucceſſion of that of Billung, the animoſity between the two tribes ſeems to have intirely ſubſided *.

826. Conteſts between Ceadragus and his ſubjects.

To return to Ceadragus, he had not been long diſmiſſed from Compeigne, when new diſputes aroſe between him and his ſubjects. The emperor reſiding then at Ingelheim, ſome of the chief nobility of the Obotrites came to lodge a complaint againſt their ſovereign. Ceadragus was ſummoned once more to appear at the Imperial court, and anſwer to the ſeveral charges. As he thought proper to comply with the ſummons, the emperor determined not to liſten to the complaints of the nobility, but to take the ſenſe of the commonalty of the Obotrites, whether they were content that Ceadragus ſhould continue in poſſeſſion of the government. It ſeems as if that prince looked upon the voice of the people as that of God, and if Ceadragus had their approbation, he concluded it to be a certain ſign of the goodneſs of his adminiſtration. In order to be ſatisfied on this head, he appointed commiſſaries to enquire upon the ſpot, whether the Venedic monarch was acceptable to his ſubjects. In the mean while he took this prince with him to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he intended to reſide that winter. The commiſſaries at their return made a report, that the people were divided in their opinions; but that the more ſenſible and virtuous among them were for having their king reſtored. The emperor complied with their demand; and after he had taken hoſtages of Ceadragus for the ſecurity of his good government, he ſent him back to his hereditary dominions †.

* Buckholtz, Beehr, Chemnitz. † Annal. reg. Franc. Fuld. Bertin.

830. Death of Ceadragus.

THIS affair being concluded, we find no farther mention of Ceadragus till the time of his deceaſe; ſo that it is ſuppoſed he ſpent the remainder of his days in tranquillity. Convinced by experience, that unleſs he were aſſiſted by ſome powerful alliance, all endeavours to throw off the Imperial yoke would be fruitleſs, he reſolved to concern himſelf in no meaſures that ſhould alienate the affections of his ſubjects, or give umbrage to the Franks. He did not live long enough to avail himſelf of the diſſenſions in the Imperial family, but departed this life juſt about the time they firſt broke out, which was in the year 830 *.

VIII. GOZIMULUS or GESTIMULUS,

The Eighth KING of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES.

From the YEAR 830 to 844.

EMPERORS of the WEST,

LEWIS the DEBONNAIRE, 814. LOTHARIUS, 841.

KINGS of ENGLAND,

EGBERT, 801. ETHELWOLF, 838.

830. Gozimulus ſucceeds to the crown.

GOZIMULUS or Geſtimulus, the only ſon of Ceadragus, aſcended the throne of the Venedi at a time when the diſſenſions in the Imperial family began to weaken the French monarchy. This was an excellent opportunity for the Obotrites to throw off a yoke impoſed upon them by a nation, to which they had been ſo long attached from a principle of friendſhip. The ungrateful behaviour of the Franks towards their ancient allies, over whom they now

* Chemnitz, Beehr, Kluver, Buckholtz.

aſſumed

assumed the authority of sovereigns, nay, whom they considered as a conquered people *, must naturally have alienated the minds of such a nation as the Obotrites, jealous to the last degree of their liberties, which they held more sacred than their lives.

Quarrels in the Carlovingian family.

LEWIS the Debonnaire, who should rather have been surnamed the Weak, had by his first wife Irmengardis three sons, Lotharius, Pepin, and Lewis. Among these he divided his dominions in 817: to Lotharius the eldest he gave Italy, and made him his collegue in the Imperial dignity. Pepin the second he created king of Aquitaine; and Lewis the youngest king of Bavaria. He afterwards married a second wife, Judith, 819.
daughter of Welf, a Bavarian lord, by whom he had another son, Charles the Bald. At the instigation of his empress, whose gallantry and ambition were the source of all his misfortunes, he made another partition of his dominions at the diet of Worms in 829, in favour of his younger son Charles, giving him Swabia, with part of Bavaria and Burgundy. His conduct in this respect is greatly censured by able historians; first, in settling the succession too soon; and secondly, in dividing his dominions: the former rendered him unhappy; the latter hastened the ruin of the monarchy. The empire of Charlemagne underwent the same fate as that of Alexander, and that of the Caliphs; founded in the rapidity of conquests, it soon tumbled to pieces, torn and dismembered by intestine divisions †.

THESE unnatural sons had not the patience to wait for the death of their father: they rose up in arms against him, and, 829.
after corrupting his officers and servants, deprived him of his liberty. The clergy, whose irregular lives he had endeavoured to reform, condemned him in a public assembly held at Com-

* This appears from many passages of the Annals of the Franks, which it would be tedious to recite.

† Barre, Puffendorff, Henault, &c.

peigne,

833. peigne, and he was obliged to abdicate the Imperial dignity. But the ringleaders being afterwards touched with remorſe for their rebellion, made a reparation for the affront, by reſtoring him to his dominions. He was of ſo forgiving a temper, as to be reconciled to his ſons, notwithſtanding the injuries he had
837. received; and Pepin dying not long after, he beſtowed Aquitaine and France on his younger ſon Charles. This partition gave a freſh diſguſt to his other ſons; and Lewis king of Germany having recourſe once more to arms in order to oppoſe his father, this unfortunate emperor died of vexation and chagrin *.
840. After his deceaſe his ſubjects experienced the fatal effects of the late partition. Lotharius the eldeſt, who with the Imperial title was poſſeſſed of Italy, and the kingdom of Lorrain and Burgundy, wanted to ſtrip his brothers of their part of the inheritance. This attempt produced an alliance between Lewis and Charles, in conſequence of which was fought the famous battle
841. of Fontenay near Auxerre in Burgundy, where Lotharius was intirely defeated. How greatly the French monarchy muſt have been weakened on this occaſion, may be judged from the number of ſlain, who, by very good authority, are ſaid to have
843. amounted to 100,000. At length the three brothers entered into a treaty at Verdun, and the empire of Charlemagne was divided into three equal parts, independent of each other. Lotharius had the Imperial dignity, with Italy and the provinces ſituated between the Rhine, the Rhone, the Saone, the Meuſe, and the Scheld: Lewis, ſurnamed Germanicus, had all the provinces ſituated on the right bank of the Rhine, with ſome towns on the left, as Spire and Mentz, propter vini copiam, according to the expreſſion of the annaliſts: and Charles became king of France, except that portion which was ceded to Lotharius. This treaty is the æra of the public law in Germany, which

* Lewis the Debonnaire was ſo weak as to alienate a conſiderable part of the crown-lands, in order to preſerve the allegiance of his ſubjects; and from this alienation we may date the inheritance of fiefs. After he was reſtored to the throne he made uſe of a new æra, reckoning from his re-eſtabliſhment, which is called the æra repropitians.

from

from this time forwards became ſubject to particular princes, independent of the French monarchy *.

The Venedi attempt to recover their liberty.

DURING theſe diviſions in the family of Charlemagne, the Imperial authority received a conſiderable diminution: the grandees were enabled, in ſeveral places, to uſurp the ſovereignty of their reſpective governments; and Gozimulus, being an enterprizing and active prince, endeavoured to avail himſelf of the opportunity for aſſerting the independency of his crown. The Wilzi followed the ſame example; and the different tribes of the Venedi conſpired to ſhake off the Imperial yoke. The news of this defection having reached the ears of Eric † king of Denmark, he applied to Lewis the Debonnaire, propoſing to reduce the Friſians and the 838.
Obotrites, provided he were to have the ſovereignty over thoſe people, in return for the ſervices he had done againſt the Norman pirates ‡. But the propoſal was looked upon as extravagant, and rejected by the emperor with indignation. This good prince had flattered himſelf with the hopes of ſettling matters without having recourſe to the ſword; and for that purpoſe he had deputed Adalgarius and count Egilo to treat with the Obotrites and the Wilzi. Luckily at this very juncture the deputies were returned from executing their commiſſion; in which they had ſucceeded ſo far as to obtain hoſtages § for their future ſubmiſſion. But this tranquillity was of no long continuance: the year following the diſturbances in that country 839.
were renewed with the utmoſt fury. The emperor, chagrined at this intelligence, ordered the Saxons, who were now become

* Abregé de l'Hiſt. d'Allemagne, Barre, Puffendorf, Henault.

† This was Eric I. ſon of Ringo, and brother of Harold Klack, the competitor of Regner. The latter was killed in Ireland in 830, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Siward III. in 831. This prince dying in 834, was ſucceeded by the above-mentioned Eric I. the firſt Chriſtian king.

‡ I have copied the annals of the Franks; but I cannot find in the hiſtory of Denmark what ſervice this Eric had done againſt the Norman pirates, who indeed were moſt of them his own ſubjects.

§ This is mentioned only in regard to the Wilzi; for I do not find that the Obotrites gave any hoſtages.

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the moſt faithful ſubjects of the family of Charlemagne, to go upon an expedition againſt the Sorabi and the Wilzi, who had lately burned ſome villages of the marches * of Saxony. At the ſame time he gave directions to the Auſtraſians and Thuringians to march againſt the Obotrites and the Linones, who were up in arms in conjunction with the reſt of the Venedi. The fate of the former, viz. the Sorabi, we meet with in the annals of the Franks; but no mention is made of the operations againſt the Obotrites and their king Gozimulus. From the ſilence of the annaliſts, it is likely the Saxons did not ſucceed againſt that prince; but this is only a conjecture †.

Gozimulus ſlain in battle.

THE peace of the Carlovingian family being reſtored for ſome time by the treaty of Verdun, which, as hath been already obſerved, left Lewis the Germanic in poſſeſſion of all the provinces on the right ſide of the Rhine, this prince reſolved to turn his arms againſt the Slavi, and particularly againſt Gozimulus king of the Obotrites. With this view he aſſembled a formidable army, and croſſing the Elbe, marched into the country of the Venedi. The terror of his arms made ſome of the princes ſubmit, while others, who dared to oppoſe him with open force, were overpowered and ſlain. Among theſe was the brave Gozimulus, who had determined to conquer or die in the cauſe of liberty: after a moſt obſtinate engagement, in which he diſplayed the greateſt marks of valour, he was obliged to yield to numbers, and fell gloriouſly in the defence of his people. The whole country was then obliged to ſubmit to ſuch terms as the conqueror pleaſed to impoſe, and to accept of dukes, whom he appointed to ‡ govern the ſeveral diſtricts. In this he copied the example of his grandfather Charlemagne; and the ſame regulation was extended to the reſt of his dominions: thus he afterwards created Traculfus the firſt duke of Thuringia, and Ludolphus the Great, duke of Saxony in

844.

* Marchia Saxonica, the Saxon Boundary, where the annaliſt either means Sadelbandia or Balſamorum pagus in the Old Marche.

† Annal. Bertin. ‡ Ann. Bertin. Fuld. Lambert. Schafnaburg. Segebert Gemblac.

855;

855; from which time the latter became in ſome meaſure an hereditary government. But as the affairs of Saxony are greatly interwoven in the ſequel of this hiſtory with thoſe of the Venedi, it will not, I hope, be unacceptable to the reader if I enter into a more particular account of that dukedom, which afterwards roſe to ſo high a pitch, and produced ſome of the greateſt emperors of Germany.

Creation of the dukes of Saxony.

UPON the ſubmiſſion of Wittekind, chief or king of the Saxons, in 785, Charlemagne, deſirous of ſhewing his moderation to that prince, and ſecuring him in his intereſt, created him duke of Saxony. The dukes at that time were no more than governors of provinces; they could lay no taxes, nor enact laws, without the approbation of the ſovereign. Wittekind lived to a very advanced age, and ended his days in 807. He left two ſons, Wigbert and Wittekind II. From the latter came the margraves of Miſnia, the landgraves of Thuringia, and the preſent electors and dukes of Saxony. Wigbert the elder brother was continued in the dukedom, and departed this life in 825. This prince's eldeſt ſon Bruno was alſo continued duke of Saxony, and breathed his laſt in 843. Bruno was ſucceeded by his ſon the above-mentioned Ludolphus the Great, whom Lewis the Germanic inveſted with the ſame title of duke of Saxony; after which the office, as we have above obſerved, became in ſome meaſure hereditary. Ludolphus died in 859, and left two ſons, who were ſucceſſively dukes of Saxony; namely, Bruno II. * who lived till 880, but left no iſſue; and Otho, who departed this life in 916. The latter was ſucceeded by his ſon Henry I. ſurnamed the Fowler, who was raiſed to the Imperial dignity, and died in 936. His ſon Otho I. ſo called from being the firſt of that name of the Imperial line, was choſen emperor upon the death of his father, and by his memorable exploits acquired the ſurname of Great: he died in 973. The Imperial dignity

* He is ſaid to have built the city of Brunſwick, ſo called from that prince, in 861.

continued in this prince's family till 1024, when Henry II. the laſt emperor of the houſe of Saxony, died without iſſue.

THE emperor Otho the Great diſpoſed of the duchy of Saxony * in 952 in favour of Hermannus Billung, in whoſe family it remained till 1106, when that line became extinct: and it went from thence to the houſe of Supplenberg, in the perſon of the emperor Lotharius II. This prince dying without iſſue male in 1137, left the dukedom of Saxony to his daughter Gertruda, who was married to Henry Superbus duke of Bavaria, anceſtor of his preſent majeſty king George III. This was the beginning of the Welphiſh line of the dukes of Saxony, which continued from 1137 to 1182, when Henry the Lion, who makes ſo great a figure in the following hiſtory, was put under the ban of the empire by Frederick Barbaroſſa. The dukedom of Saxony †, with the title of elector, was then given to Bernard count of Aſcania, ſon of Albert the Bear, deſcended from the houſe of Billung by his grandmother ‡ Eilicke. This electorate continued in the Aſcanian branch till 1422, when Albert III. the laſt elector of that line, dying without iſſue male, it was conferred by the emperor Sigiſmund on Frederick Bellicoſus margrave of Miſnia §, from whom the preſent electoral houſe of Saxony is deſcended ‖.

* It is to be obſerved, however, that the dukes of Saxony of the houſe of Billung were ſtrictly ſpeaking no more than lieutenants or deputies of the emperors, dukes of Saxony; and though they bore the title of dukes, it was in the original ſenſe of that term, which implied no more than the governor of a province. The family of Henry the Fowler poſſeſſed in full property the greateſt part of Upper and Lower Saxony and Weſtphalia; on the other hand, the dukes of the houſe of Billung were confined to the circle of Wittenberg, which was the ducal demeſne, and to a ſcanty patrimony on the ſide of Lunenburg.

† Except his allodial eſtate of Brunſwick and Lunenburg.

‡ His grandmother was Eilicke, one of the daughters of Magnus the laſt duke of Saxony of the houſe of Billung; the other daughter and coheireſs, Wulfhild, was married to Henry Niger duke of Bavaria, father of Henry Superbus; ſo that the illuſtrious houſe of Brunſwick is deſcended from the ancient dukes of Saxony of the houſe of Billung.

§ Said to be a deſcendant of Wittekind the Great.

‖ Hubner, Spener, Abregé de l'hiſtoire d'Allemagne.

We return now to the tranſactions of the Obotrites after the fatal engagement in 844, in which their king Gozimulus unhappily periſhed.

IX. TABAMUIZEL,

The Ninth King of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES.

From the YEAR 844 to 865.

EMPEROR of the WEST, LEWIS II. 855.

KINGS of ENGLAND,

ETHELWOLF, 838. ETHELBALD, 858.

844. Tabamuizel inherits the throne of the Venedi.

THE affairs of the Obotrites were in a moſt deſperate ſituation after the unhappy cataſtrophe of their king Gozimulus. Lewis the Germanic had ſtruck a terror into the whole country, and in all probability would have put an end to the Venedic ſovereignty, had not the Huns, the Normans, and other northern nations, invaded his dominions at that very juncture, and obliged him to march with the utmoſt expedition to the defence of his own ſubjects. This diverſion proved extremely favourable to Tabamuizel, to whom the Venedic crown devolved upon the demiſe of his brother. The firſt ſtep this prince took was to expel the dukes and governors appointed by Lewis the Germanic, and to conclude an alliance with the Normans, to whoſe powerful aſſiſtance he owed the preſervation of his dominions. About this time thoſe warlike adventurers began to ravage the coaſt of France; but, in conſideration of fourteen thouſand marks of ſilver, from Charles the Bald, they were prevailed upon to retire. The emperor

Lotharius ceded Frieſeland to thoſe ſame people, upon the condition of vaſſalage; which encouraged them afterwards to make the conqueſt of Neuſtria *. It ſeemed, indeed, as if the northern nations had all conſpired to deſtroy the empire of the Franks, as they had formerly joined in the ſubverſion of that of Rome; to ſo low an ebb was this new empire reduced by the unhappy diſcord of the ſons of Charlemagne †.

845. The Danes invade Germany.

DURING this general inundation of the northern nations, Eric ‡ king of Denmark marched an army towards Hamburg, and laid ſiege to that city. The attempt, however, proved fruitleſs; for the Saxons aſſembling a large body of forces, obliged the Daniſh monarch to raiſe the ſiege. Eric retired with his army to Denmark; but the Saxons not chuſing to follow him into that country, turned their arms againſt the Venedi, who muſt be ſuppoſed (though it is not mentioned in the annals) to have been confederated with the Danes. The Saxons were more ſucceſsful in their expedition than Eric; for they attacked a conſiderable town belonging to the Venedi, and obliged it to ſurrender. The name of this place has not been tranſmitted to us by the annaliſts of that time; but it ſeems to have been either in the country of the Linones, or in that of the Wilzi §. Much about the ſame time, Anſgarius biſhop of Hamburg per-

* From its conquerors it took the name of Normandy.

† Adon. Chron. Annal. Francor.

‡ The Annal. Fuld. call him Horicus; but it is very common with the writers of thoſe days to mangle and disfigure the names of foreigners. This Eric was the ſecond of that name, and ſurnamed the Child: he embraced Chriſtianity himſelf at laſt, and died in 859. We muſt take care to diſtinguiſh him from Eric I. who was the firſt Chriſtian king of Denmark, having been baptized at Mentz together with his brother Harold Klack; but his example had not been followed by the Daniſh nation. This Eric I. being oppoſed by his nephew Gunthorinus, ſon of Harold Klack, a bloody battle was fought, in which they were both ſlain, and the whole royal race was cut off, except one daughter of Gunthorinus, and one ſon of Siward III. viz. the above-mentioned Eric II. or the Child, who afterwards married the daughter of Gunthorinus. The connexion between the Daniſh and Venedic hiſtory has rendered it proper to make this remark.

§ Ann. Fuld. Bertin.

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ſuaded Eric king of Denmark to tolerate the Chriſtian religion in his dominions, and afterwards obtained the ſame permiſſion in Sweden; yet the Swedes and Danes ſtill continued their piracies and incurſions againſt the Chriſtians *.

In the midſt of theſe diſturbances, the emperor Lotharius, tired of the world, aſſumed the monaſtic habit, and died a few months after in the abbey of Prum, leaving behind him three ſons, Lewis, Lotharius, and Charles. To Lewis he bequeathed the Imperial dignity and Italy; Lotharius he made king of the countries bounded by the Rhone, the Saone, the Meuſe, the Scheld, and the Rhine, part of which ſtill bears his name, viz. Lotharingia, Lotharii regnum; Charles had the kingdom of Provence, bordered by the Rhone, the Mediterranean, and the Alps: this was afterwards the kingdom of Arles †.

War between Lewis the Germanic and Tabamuizel.

Not long after the death of Lotharius, while the Normans were ravaging France, Lewis the Germanic, inſtead of aſſiſting his brother Charles the Bald, attempted to ſtrip that prince of his dominions. This proceeding gave an opportunity to the Obotrites to take up arms, under their king Tabamuizel, and to make incurſions on Lewis's territories in Germany. The latter being too much employed in France, ſent his ſon, alſo named 859.
Lewis ‡, with a conſiderable army, againſt the Obotrites and the Linones §. As the ſucceſs of this expedition is not mentioned by the ancient annaliſts, it may be conjectured that the advantage was on the ſide of the Obotrites. The inteſtine diſturbances of the family of Charlemagne had hitherto a conſiderable effect on the general ſyſtem of affairs; but at length a treaty of peace and friendſhip was concluded be- 860.
tween Lewis the Germanic and Charles the Bald, by the interpoſition of their nephew Lotharius king of Lorrain. Lewis finding himſelf then at liberty to revenge the damages his ſubjects had received from the incurſions of the Venedi, turn-

* Adam. Brem. Helmold. † Barre, Voltaire, Heiſs, Pfeffel.

‡ This was Lewis the Germanic's ſecond ſon, who afterwards became king of Saxony by the name of Lewis III.

§ Annal. Fuld. Lambert. Schafnaburg.

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ed his whole force againſt that nation and invaded the country with a formidable army. The forces of the Venedi muſt have been very conſiderable at that time; ſince Lewis, not depending on his own ſtrength, had invited his nephew Lotharius to join him. But never was there leſs harmony in any family than among the princes of the Carlovingian line: jealouſy and ambition prevailed over all ties of conſanguinity, and Lotharius poſitively refuſed to grant any aſſiſtance to his uncle. Tabamuizel having aſſembled his troops, endeavoured to avoid a deciſive engagement. By ſo cautious a behaviour he ſhewed his abilities as a general, and preſerved his country from ruin *. Lewis, who was accompanied by his ſon of the ſame name, finding he could make no impreſſion on the enemy, thought proper to enter into a negociation. A treaty was concluded; but in order to ſave Lewis's honour, the king of the Obotrites, who was alſo deſirous of peace, and apprehended the conſequences of a general defeat, was prevailed upon to give his ſon as a hoſtage for the performance of the treaty †.

865. Death of Tabamuizel.

TABAMUIZEL did not long ſurvive this negociation. What year he departed this life is not exactly known; but the moſt probable opinion fixes it in 865 ‡. His ſon, whom he gave as a hoſtage to Lewis the Germanic, muſt have died before him, ſince, according to the beſt authorities, Tabamuizel was the laſt of Witzan's line ‖.

* This tranſaction is unfairly repreſented by ſeveral hiſtorians, who pretend that Tabamuizel was overpowered and defeated, and, in conſequence thereof, obliged to give hoſtages. Bangert ſays, Imperator in eos (Obotritos) movet, Tabamuizilem compeſcit, & filium obſidem dare cogit: where, by the way, he is miſtaken, as to imperator; for Lewis Germanicus never enjoyed the imperial dignity. It is true, that in the Annal. Fuld. we find theſe words: Rex ducem eorum Tabamuizilem rebellantem dicto obedire & filium ſuum cum aliis obſidibus dare coegit. But the Annal. Bertin. explain this matter more clearly, where they poſitively affirm, Ludovicum regem, comitatum a Ludovico juniore, nihil proſpere geſſiſſe, ſed ſub obtentu obſidum rediiſſe.

† Annal. Fuld. Bertin. ‡ Buckholtz.

‖ This part of our hiſtory, regarding the ſucceſſor of Tabamuizel, is involved in a cloud of difficulties. The annals of the Franks poſitively mention a ſon of Tabamuizel,

Tabamuizel, whom his father gave, with other hoſtages, in 862, to Lewis Germanicus. We do not find the name of that prince, nor the time of his death. This has induced M. Gebhardi to form a new ſyſtem in relation to the ſucceſſors of Tabamuizel. According to him, Tabamuizel was ſucceeded by his ſon the hoſtage, whoſe name is unknown; and after the death of that anonymous prince, the crown devolved on his ſon Mirilla or Miciſlaus I. But we have thought it ſafer to adhere to the opinion of Latomus and Chemnitz, the laſt of whom had acceſs to the ancient records of the ſerene family: and this the rather as M. Gebhardi's ſyſtem is founded greatly on conjecture; for he ſuppoſes Tabamuizel king of the Obotrites to have been living in 889, in the war with the emperor Arnold; yet he has no authority for it; neither has he any for aſſerting Miciſlaus I. to have been the grandſon of Tabamuizel by the anonymous ſon above-mentioned. In ſhort, during this period, viz. from 862 to 931, the ancient annals, as Bangert obſerves, do not mention the names of the princes of the Obotrites, though they treat of the wars between that nation and the German empire; therefore we may as well adopt the traditionary accounts of the ſerene family of Mecklenburg, as the conjectures of M. Gebhardi.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Containing the reigns of the KINGS of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES, from Miſtevoy I. who died in 869, to the death of Miciſlaus I. in 934.

Miſtevoy ſucceeds to the crown. The Obotrites and the Wilzi reconciled. Death of Miſtevoy I. Succeſſion of Aribert III. Affairs of the empire. War between the Franks and the Normans. The Normans are joined by the Obotrites, and obtain a complete victory. Farther ſucceſs of the Normans. Death of Aribert III. Miciſlaus I. ſucceeds to the crown, and wages war with the emperor Arnold. Affairs of the empire. War between the Obotrites and the Saxons. Affairs of the empire. War between the emperor Henry the Fowler and the Venedi. Miciſlaus concludes an alliance with the Danes. Henry the Fowler defeats the Danes and the Venedi, and regulates the frontiers of the empire. Freſh quarrel between Henry the Fowler and the Obotrites.

X. MISTEVOY I.

The Tenth KING of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES.

From the YEAR 865 to 869.

EMPEROR of the WEST, LEWIS II. 855.

KINGS of ENGLAND,

ETHELBERT IV. 860. ETHELRED V. 866.

865. Miſtevoy I. ſucceeds to the crown.

TABAMUIZEL dying without iſſue, the kingdom of the Obotrites devolved of courſe to the next male heir, namely, Miſtevoy I. who was deſcended in a direct line from Billung I. brother of Aribert II. the father of Witzan or Witzlaus II.

The

The reader will find their genealogy at full length in the second table prefixed to this work; where he must carefully distinguish between the three Billungs of this collateral branch, who were only princes of the Venedi, and Billung the Great, who enjoyed the regal dignity over the same nation, and with whom Helmoldus begins his account of the kings of the Slavi *.

The Obotrites and the Wilzi reconciled.

The accession of Mistevoy I. seems to have produced an union between the Obotrites and the Wilzi, and to have intirely put a stop to the animosities by which those two tribes of the Venedi had been so long divided. Whether it be that the growing enmity between the Franks and the Obotrites reconciled the latter to the Wilzi, or the accession of the line of Billung procured a coalition of interests, as well as that of families: for it is probable, as we have already observed, that the princes of the Wilzi were of the branch of Billung; and that upon the extinction of the elder branch of Witzan, the two tribes were united under one head. A presumption in favour of this opinion is, that the Wilzi never after gave any disturbance to the Obotrites; but rather acted, upon all occasions, as one and the same nation. This union of interests seems to have retrieved the affairs of the Venedi, while new dissensions in the family of Charlemagne contributed to reduce the power of the Franks. Lewis the Germanic having made some disposition in 866.
favour of his eldest son Carloman, the two youngest, Lewis and Charles, dissatisfied with the partition, rebelled against their father. But this prince behaved with great prudence, and shewed himself much superior to Lewis the Debonnaire on the like occasion. He entered into a treaty with his sons, and prevailed with them to return to court; there he so strongly represented to them the good effects of adhering to their duty, and living in harmony with their brother, that they were ever after obedient to his commands †.

* Book I. † Annal. Fuld. Bert.

866. War between Miſtevoy and Lewis the Germanic.

THESE diſſenſions in the imperial family afforded an opportunity to Miſtevoy to aſſert the independency of the Obotrites. Hoſtilities were therefore renewed; and Lewis not being at leiſure to march againſt Miſtevoy in perſon, intruſted the care of this war to his generals, who had the command of a ſtrong army, conſiſting chiefly of Saxons and Thuringians. Different battles

868.

were fought, this and the enſuing year, with alternate advantage; fortune ſometimes favouring the Obotrites, at other times their adverſaries. The war drawing out to ſome length, with little advantage on either ſide, Lewis conferred the command of his army on his ſecond ſon, of the ſame name, with orders to

869.

bring the enemy, if poſſible, to a deciſive battle. The two armies met with equal ardor, encouraged by their noble chiefs, Miſtevoy and Lewis. An engagement enſued; and, after a moſt obſtinate ſtruggle, victory declared itſelf in favour of the Franks †. The circumſtances of this action are not recorded;

Death of Miſtevoy.

but as we are informed that Miſtevoy died that ſame year, it is very probable he fell in the engagement. After this laſt overthrow the Obotrites were obliged to conclude a peace, the conditions of which are not mentioned by hiſtorians; but they may naturally be ſuppoſed to have been greatly to the advantage of the victor. Miſtevoy left two ſons by a Friſian or Saxon

princeſs, Aribert III. and Miciſlaus I. who ſucceeded him in their turn ‡.

THIS ſame year died Lotharius king of Lorrain, without legitimate iſſue; and his territories were ſeized by his uncles, Charles the Bald and Lewis the Germanic, in prejudice to his brother, the emperor Lewis II. who was not able to maintain his right to that ſucceſſion.

† Annal. Bertin. ‡ Annal. Fuld. Herman. Contract. Helmold. Bangert, Beehr, Kluver, Buckholtz.

XI. ARIBERT III.

The Eleventh KING of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES.

From the YEAR 869 to 888.

EMPERORS of the WEST,

LEWIS II. 855. CHARLES the BALD, 875.

KINGS of ENGLAND,

ETHELRED V. 866. ALFRED the GREAT, 872.

869. Succeſſion of Aribert III.

AFTER the deceaſe of Miſtevoy I. things continued quiet for ſome time on the frontiers; the Venedi having been too much haraſſed and reduced by the late war to think of renewing hoſtilities. Beſides, the two ſons of Miſtevoy I. were young and unexperienced in the military art, and Lewis the Germanic had reſtored tranquility in his family. Hence it was that Aribert III. who ſucceeded his father, thought it highly prudent to abide by the late peace, and to obſerve ſuch conditions as had been preſcribed by a ſucceſsful enemy. This the monkiſh writers of the Franks and the Saxons are pleaſed to call by the name of ſubjection; and to recede from thoſe conditions, whenever a favourable opportunity offered, was treated as rebellion.

875. Affairs of the empire.

DURING the tranquillity that enſued, the emperor Lewis II. died at Milan, without iſſue male, after appointing Carloman, the eldeſt ſon of Lewis the Germanic, his heir. Charles the Bald king of France, and brother of Lewis the Germanic, diſregarding the will of Lewis II. made himſelf maſter of Italy, and prevailed, by his largeſſes, upon the pope and the people of Rome to declare in his favour. He was accordingly crowned by pope

876. John VIII. notwithſtanding all the efforts of Carloman, who was ſent by his father with an army to oppoſe him. Lewis the Germanic was preparing to be revenged of his brother for the injuſtice done to his ſon Carloman, when death put an end to the deſigns of one of the moſt virtuous and greateſt princes that ever reigned in Germany. According to the cuſtom of that time (a cuſtom which proved ſo fatal to the Carlovingian family) Lewis divided his dominions among his three ſons. Carloman, the eldeſt, was king of Bavaria, with the dependent provinces; Lewis, the ſecond ſon, was king of Saxony and Franconia, with part of Lorrain; Charles the Groſs, the third ſon, was king of Suabia, Swiſſerland, and Alſace.

877. Carloman, the elder brother, reſolving to aſſert his right to Italy, forced his paſſage over the Alps, defeated his uncle's generals, and was proclaimed king of Italy. Charles the Bald marched an army to recover Italy from his nephew; but was poiſoned by a Jew phyſician. During the reign of this prince began the great feudal government, when the military officers, the dukes, marquiſſes, and counts, rendered their reſpective poſts and dignities hereditary in their families. Upon the death of Charles the Bald, his eldeſt ſon Lewis the Stammerer, and Carloman, the eldeſt ſon of Lewis the Germanic, contended for the Imperial crown, which ſeems to have been adjudged to Carloman *; but this prince dying ſoon after, it was conferred on his younger brother Charles the Groſs.

880.

881.

War between the Franks and the Normans.

THE monarchy of the Franks was now upon the decline; and the perpetual diſſenſions in the reigning family gave frequent opportunities to the Venedi and other bordering nations to reſume their liberty. The Sorabi and the Linones, availing them-

877.

* This point is not ſettled; ſome hiſtorians pretending that Lewis the Stammerer was crowned emperor by pope John VIII. at the ſynod of Troyes; others deny the fact, and affirm that Carloman was elected. Indeed neither of them ſeem to have been inveſted with the Imperial dignity; Lewis being ſtiled only king of France in inſtruments of a later date than his coronation, as Petavius has ſhewn; and Carloman being only king of Bavaria and Italy.

ſelves

ſelves of this circumſtance, withdrew the annual ſubſidy or acknowledgment which they had been uſed to pay to the kings of Germany. Lewis III. king of Saxony, ſecond ſon of Lewis the Germanic, having been acquainted with their reſolution, did not think it prudent to attempt the recovery of that ſubſidy by force, knowing the ſpirit of the people, and their averſion to every thing that bore the badge of ſubjection. He therefore had recourſe to negociation; and by means of his agents ſucceeded ſo well, that an accommodation enſued, and things were reſtored to their former ſituation *.

880. The Normans are joined by the Obotrites,

But the ſore was not thoroughly healed; it broke out anew, and with greater virulency than ever. The Normans continuing to harraſs the Franks, the Obotrites and the other tribes of the Venedi conſidered this as a proper opportunity for joining † with the former, and making one and the ſame cauſe againſt the common enemy. The two armies penetrated into the heart of Saxony, from whence they made incurſions into all parts of the empire. Lewis III. king of Saxony being informed of thoſe ravages, aſſembled a conſiderable army, in order to ſtop the progreſs of the invaders. He had under him Bruno II. duke of Saxony, a general of great experience and valour; but I do not find who commanded the combined army of Normans and Venedi. The two armies, animated with the hope of conqueſt, came to a deciſive engagement, at a place called Ebſdorff ‡, in the duchy of Lunenburg, and, after a moſt obſtinate conteſt, Lewis's troops were intirely defeated §. The number of killed and priſoners was very conſiderable: among the former was the Saxon general the gallant

and gain a complete victory,

* Annal. Fuld.

† It is not mentioned in the annals of the Franks that the Norman army was joined by the Obotrites; but it is highly probable, as M. Gebhardi obſerves, that ſuch a junction took place, conſidering the ſituation and the ſame circumſtances of enmity.

‡ A ſmall town, and formerly a nunnery of the order of St. Benedict, ſouth-eaſt of Lunenburg, and north-weſt of Ultzen.

§ Annal. Fuld.

Bruno,

Bruno, with twelve counts, and the biſhops of Minden and Hildeſheim. This diſaſter was ſuch a ſhock to king Lewis, that he died of grief, and was interred in the abbey of Lorſch *. He left no iſſue by his wife Luitgardis, daughter of Ludolphus duke of Saxony; the only ſon he had by that princeſs having been unfortunately killed by a fall at the city of Ratiſbon. Bruno duke of Saxony was ſucceeded by his brother duke Otho the Great, father of the emperor Henry I. ſurnamed the Fowler †.

885. Further ſucceſs of the Normans.

ELATED by their victories, the Normans penetrated into France, and laid ſiege to Paris, which was gallantly defended by count d'Eudes and biſhop Goſlin. The emperor Charles the Groſs had lately ſucceeded to that kingdom, and reunited in his perſon the extenſive dominions of Charlemagne. But he was

* In Latin called Laureſhamum, from whence we have the Annales Laureſhamenſes.

† From this period M. Gebhardi ſeems to date the ſubjection of the Venedi to the dukes of Saxony. He ſays, that hitherto the emperors or kings of Germany had looked upon the affairs of the Obotrites, the Wilzi, and other Venedi, as it were at a diſtance; but upon the eſtabliſhment of the dukedom of Saxony, theſe dukes had the conqueſt of that nation more at heart. It is obvious, he ſays farther, that the ſovereignty over theſe people, and their whole country, was granted by the emperor to the princes of Saxony; and he mentions a particular inſtance of the Dalemincians, who were ſo greatly humbled by Henry duke of Saxony, at the command of his father Otho, that they called in the Huns to their aſſiſtance. But this very circumſtance ſhews that they looked upon themſelves as a free people, and noway ſubject to the dukes of Saxony, who could not be inveſted by the emperor with any power over them, ſince he was poſſeſſed of none himſelf. For by the ſequel of that war it appears that the Venedi had thrown off all German dependence. He likewiſe adds, that the Obotrites and the Wilzi muſt have been included under the ſame grant as the Dalemincians, ſince they were ſituated on the ſame borders. But I do not ſee any right or juriſdiction ariſing from the proximity of ſituation. Then he concludes, that the Obotrites, &c. were made ſubject at firſt to the dukes of Saxony, as without all doubt they became ſo in proceſs of time. That the ſovereigns of the Venedi were obliged ſometimes to yield homage to the dukes of Saxony, when the princes of the latter houſe aſcended the Imperial throne, and their power was ſo great, that it was impoſſible for the Venedi to withſtand them, we can eaſily grant; but this was only a temporary ſubjection which the Venedi always endeavoured to ſhake off.

too

too weak for ſo great a burden; inſtead of fighting the Normans, and driving them out of France, he concluded a treaty with thoſe people, in virtue of which they became maſters of the province of Neuſtria. So ignominious a treaty ruined the reputation of that prince, who beſides was vexed with the plague of jealouſy, which contributed to impair his health, and diſorder his underſtanding. In ſhort, he was grown ſo contemptible to his own ſubjects, that at an aſſembly held at Tribur, a little town in the country of Darmſtat, he was ſolemnly depoſed and ſtripped of his dominions. The French ſubmitted to Eudes count of Paris; the Italians to Guy and Berenger, dukes of Spoleto and Friuli; and the Germans choſe for their ſovereign Arnold, a baſtard ſon of Lewis the Germanic. As for the depoſed emperor, he who had been the ſovereign of ſo many countries, the ſon of one of the greateſt princes that ever reigned in Germany, and the great-grandſon of Charlemagne, was reduced to ſuch miſery, as almoſt to want bread, and muſt have periſhed for ſubſiſtence, had it not been for the charitable interpoſition of the archbiſhop of Mentz. He did not long ſurvive this ſhock; but reconciled himſelf to his fate, and died in the condition of a private man, the 14th of January 888. With him fell the grandeur of the empire of the Franks. The princes who ſucceeded him on the throne of Germany created, in ſome meaſure, a new kind of monarchy, which they were not able to effect without the concurrence of the ſtates. Hence aroſe that immenſe authority with which the latter were gradually inveſted, till at length the German monarch became no more than the preſident of an aſſembly of ſovereigns †. 888.

888. Death of Aribert III.

THIS ſame year is remarkable for the death of Aribert III. king of the Venedi and Obotrites; a prince of whom no particulars have been tranſmitted to us by hiſtorians. He is ſaid to have married a Poliſh princeſs, by whom he had no iſſue; and he left his kingdom to his brother Miciſlaus I. *

† Barre, Heiſs, Pfeffel. * Buckholtz, Beehr, Kluver.

XII. MICISLAUS I.

The Twelfth KING of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES.

From the YEAR 888 to 934.

EMPERORS of GERMANY,

ARNOLD, 888. LEWIS IV. 900. CONRAD I. 912.
HENRY I. or the FOWLER, 919.

KINGS of ENGLAND,

ALFRED the GREAT, 872. EDWARD the ELDER, 900.
ATHELSTAN, 925.

889. Miciſlaus I. ſucceeds to the crown.

THIS prince's reign was ſignalized by his oppoſition to the emperor Arnold, and by the exploits performed in the enſuing war, in which he greatly raiſed the reputation of the Venedi. During the late ſtate of anarchy and confuſion, the Obotrites ſeem to have thrown off all ſubjection to the empire, and to have conſidered themſelves as a free people. A diet being convened at Forcheim, ſoon after the election of Arnold, the deputies of the ſeveral tribes of the Venedi were ſummoned to that aſſembly, in order to pay their obeiſance to the new emperor. Some of the northern Venedi obeyed; but Miciſlaus would not ſtoop to ſuch indignity. Arnold being greatly incenſed againſt the Obotrites for not complying with the ſummons, reſolved to proceed againſt them by force, and with that view aſſembled a numerous army. But previous to this ſtep, he thought proper to hold another

diet

diet at Frankfort, in order to consult about matters relating to Eudes king of France, with whom he had some dispute. Things being there settled to his mind, he took upon him the command of his army, and proceeded immediately towards the country of the Obotrites. The latter were not unprepared; but marched forth to meet him, under the command of Micislaus. It is extremely probable that they were joined by many of the other tribes of the Venedi, since they were able to baffle the Imperial army. Be that as it may, the event of this expedition did not answer Arnold's expectation; for though he had some success in the beginning, the particulars of which are not consigned to writing, he must afterwards have met with a great reverse, since he was obliged to disband his troops, and to return, with the utmost precipitation, to Frankfort*.

and wages war with the emperor Arnold.

By these advantages Micislaus established the liberty of the Venedi, which Arnold had no opportunity afterwards to disturb; for his expeditions into Italy, and his war with Zwentebold king of Moravia, employed the rest of his reign. The schism of two popes, and the factions of Guido duke of Spoleto, and Lambert his son, who were successively pretenders to the Imperial dignity, induced him to undertake his first expedition. But the former dying, and the latter being too weak to maintain his ground, Arnold had the good fortune to restore the tranquillity of Italy. He was not long returned to Germany, when he received another invitation into Italy from pope Formosus, oppressed and persecuted by Lambert duke of Spoleto. Arnold marched to the pope's assistance; and having made himself master of Rome, after obliging Lambert to quit that capital, he received the Imperial crown from pope Formosus. Thus were matters once more settled to his satisfaction in Italy; but upon his return to Germany, he was obliged to declare war against Zwentebold king of Moravia, who had committed great ravages in Bohemia. Arnold finding his own forces insufficient to reduce that warlike prince, had recourse to the Huns or Hun-

Affairs of the empire.

893.

896.

897.

* Annal. Fuld.

garians, at that time a very powerful nation. Supported by these auxiliaries, he obliged Zwentebold at length to submit, and yield homage to the empire. This success, however, was attended with a fatal consequence to Germany. The Huns being pleased with their expedition, shewed a desire of making a settlement in that country, to the prejudice of the inhabitants. Hence arose the frequent incursions of that nation, and all the ravages and mischiefs of the long Hungarian war.

The affairs of Germany being settled, fresh disturbances broke out in Italy, where a new pretender to the Imperial crown was set up by pope Stephen VII. In order to quell this rebellion, Ar-
899. nold marched a third time into Italy, and was poisoned by the artifice of the widow of Guido duke of Spoleto, as he was besieging the castle of Firmo, where that lady resided. Upon the death of Arnold, the states of the empire assembled at Forcheim,
900. and chose his son Lewis IV. a prince only seven years of age, to succeed him. His guardians were, Hatto archbishop of Mentz, and Otho the Great duke of Saxony, who had married
901. a daughter of the emperor Arnold. The Hungarians availing themselves of this prince's minority, made an irruption into Germany, and committed great ravages in Bavaria, Suabia, and Franconia *.

War between the Obotrites and the Saxons.

GERMANY was at this time in a state of anarchy and confusion, desolated by foreign as well as civil wars, and governed by a young prince, to whose authority the grandees paid little or no submission. The Obotrites had now thrown off all subjection to the empire, whose power in some measure was reduced to a mere phantom: and so far were they from being awed by the neighbouring Saxons, that they resolved to turn their arms against that nation, in revenge for their having joined the late emperor in his expedition of 889. Saxony was then governed
906. by duke Otho the Great. Micislaus assembling a strong army, and having been joined upon his march by the Sorabi, advanced towards Saxony, and, according to the custom of waging war

* Heisse, Barre, Pfeffel, & Wittik.

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in thoſe days, committed great ravages on the frontiers. Otho being advanced in years, and incapable of heading his army in perſon, gave the command to his ſon Henry, who was afterwards raiſed to the Imperial dignity. Henry being a prince of great courage and abilities, was qualified to enter the liſts with Miciſlaus. After ſome unſucceſsful ſkirmiſhes, Miciſlaus perceiving his force to be greatly inferior to that of the Saxons and Imperialiſts, entered into an alliance with the Hungarians, who made a ſtrong diverſion in his favour. The emperor having received intelligence of the devaſtations committed by the Hungarians, ſent a conſiderable body of forces to oppoſe them; and the two armies encountering in the neighbourhood of Augſburg, the Imperialiſts were intirely defeated. Among the ſlain was Leopold duke of Bavaria, from whom the preſent electoral houſes of Bavaria and Palatine are deſcended. In another battle fell Burchard of Thuringia; and the dukedom becoming vacant for want of iſſue, was granted by the emperor to Otho duke of Saxony. But in order to get rid of the Hungarians, an ignominious peace was concluded, the emperor agreeing to pay them an annual tribute *.

911. Affairs of the empire.

Soon after this event died the emperor Lewis IV. the laſt of Charlemagne's line that reigned in Germany. Charles the Simple king of France, being reduced to a very ſmall patrimony by the uſurpation of the grandees, found himſelf incapable of aſſerting his right to the Imperial crown. This is a memorable æra in the public law and hiſtory of Germany. The empire became elective; and the Germans choſe a prince from the body of their own nation. The dignities and offices of dukes and counts were rendered hereditary, becauſe the Imperial dignity ceaſed to be ſuch; and the ſtates of this new monarchy being at liberty to diſpoſe of the crown to whom they thought proper, ſtipulated very high privileges and exemptions in their own favour. By degrees the nobility and ſtates of the dukedoms, who at firſt acknowledged the ſupreme authority of the king or

* Lamb. Schafnab.

emperor, became ſubject to their dukes only, and held as rear vaſſals thoſe lands which till then had depended intirely on the crown; and at length they ſeized the very demeſnes which belonged in each province to the monarch of Germany. The power of the dukes growing formidable to the emperors, the latter were induced to exempt the churches of their juriſdiction, in order to form a kind of independent ſtates, which might be able to balance the influence of the great ſecular princes. Theſe were the dukes of Saxony, Franconia, Bavaria, Suabia, Lorrain, and the count palatine of the Rhine. The German princes aſſembling at Worms upon the demiſe of Lewis IV. made an offer of the Imperial dignity to Otho duke of Saxony, who declined it on account of his great age; but recommended Conrad duke of Franconia, as a prince every way qualified for that important truſt. Conrad was accordingly elected; but his authority was not acknowledged in Italy, where the popes were grown more powerful, and where the ſupreme authority had been uſurped above ſixty years by petty tyrants, ſuch as Guido, Lambert, Berenger; which occaſions a very great obſcurity in

912. this part of the hiſtory of Italy. The ſame year as Conrad was elected emperor died Otho the Great duke of Saxony, who was ſucceeded by his ſon Henry, ſurnamed the Fowler. Conrad's reign was ſhort and tumultuous, owing to the revolt of the dukes of Germany, who wanted to increaſe their power, while Conrad in vain endeavoured to abridge it. The Hungarians

915. taking advantage of theſe troubles, renewed their irruptions into Germany, and committed great barbarities. The empire was now ſo weakened by its own diviſions, that Conrad was obliged to purchaſe a peace of that nation, by confirming the ignominious condition of a tribute. The emperor finding his end

919. approaching, recommended Henry duke of Saxony, as a fit perſon to ſucceed to the Imperial throne, although he had been leagued with his enemies. Thus did that magnanimous prince ſacrifice his private reſentment to the public advantage. The ſtates of Germany aſſembling at Fritzlar, were unanimous in their choice of Henry duke of Saxony for their head.

head. This prince, the first of that name, was surnamed the Fowler, from his great passion for that sport, in which he happened to be actually engaged when the deputies from the states came to apprize him of his election *.

924. THE empire now assumed new vigour, the effect of which was soon felt by the kingdom of the Obotrites. The Hungarians having made another irruption into Germany, Henry led his army against them in person, and came to an engagement, in which he proved victorious, and took one of their generals prisoner. A truce was then concluded for nine years, upon condition of suspending the annual tribute. This was a considerable advantage obtained over a nation which had been long the terror of the empire. Strange revolution of things; that same warlike nation of the Huns is now become in some measure a province to a province of Germany! But Henry, not satisfied with these advantages, by which he had wiped off the ignominy of his crown, formed a design of subduing those Hungarians who had dared to exact tribute of the German emperors. The preparations he made for this purpose were immense: he set on foot a very numerous army, and took care to have it well disciplined: he ordered the towns to be surrounded with walls and fortifications, for the advantage of commerce, as well as for the security of the inhabitants against foreign invaders. This was the original of the corporate bodies in Germany: for hitherto the inhabitants had lived chiefly in detached houses or open villages, which enabled the Hungarians to carry on their incursions to the banks of the Rhine †.

925. War between the emperor Henry the Fowler and the Venedi.

IN order to exercise his troops before the expiration of the Hungarian truce, Henry determined to fall upon the Venedi, in hopes of disabling them so as to prevent their giving any assistance to their allies the Hungarians. But he had likewise another motive or pretence for this war; a motive adopted by all the succeeding dukes of Saxony, that of pro-

* Wittik. Lamb. Schafnab. Sigebert. Gemb. Barre, Heiss, Pfeffel.
† Wittikind, Pfeffel, Barre, Heiss.

pagating

pagating the true religion, and extending the light of the Goſpel to thoſe blind idolaters. Miciſlaus had timely intelligence of Henry's preparations, and took the utmoſt care to put himſelf into a poſture of defence. As the ſtorm was impending over the whole nation, he aſſembled the ſeveral tribes, the Obotrites, the Wilzi, the Havellani, and others; and repreſenting the danger with which they were threatened, he perſuaded them to liſt under his banners. The particulars of this war are not mentioned by the ancient annaliſts. We are only informed that the emperor was very ſucceſsful in his expedition: that he obliged the Venedi to ſue for peace, which was granted them upon very hard terms; and among the reſt that of paying an annual tribute. By this war they were ſtripped of the provinces of Brandenburg, Meiſſen, and Luſace, where the emperor eſtabliſhed margraves for the defence of the frontiers. This was the beginning of the marquiſate of Brandenburg; and Sigefrid, the emperor's brother-in-law, was the firſt marquis of that country *.

931. Miciſlaus concludes an alliance with the Danes.

MICISLAUS had, with the utmoſt reluctance, ſubmitted to thoſe heavy conditions. Averſe to reſtraint and ſubjection, and mindful of his former independence, he could not bear to remain long inactive. He therefore entered into an alliance with Gormo king of Denmark, who, on the account of religion, was a bitter enemy to the Saxons. The allied princes ſeized the opportunity, when the emperor was engaged in a war with Henry king of Burgundy Cisjurana, to fall upon his dominions with their united forces. The Redarii were the firſt who joined the Danes; and were ſoon followed by the whole Venedic nation, under the conduct of Miciſlaus. With theſe reinforcements Gormo penetrated into Saxony, ſpreading terror and deſolation wherever he advanced. In the midſt of theſe ravages the famous city of Hamburg was burned down to the ground. At the news of theſe depredations the emperor

* Wittik. Annal. Bangert, Pfeffel, &c.

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immediately ſent orders to Bernard duke of Lunenburg * to proceed towards the enemy with what troops were aſſembled in that neighbourhood; and he ſoon followed himſelf with all his forces. The two armies came at length in ſight of each other in the neighbourhood of the Baltic, and a bloody engagement enſued, in which, after an obſtinate reſiſtance on the part of the allied kings, the emperor obtained a complete victory †. The loſs of this battle obliged Gormo to retire into Denmark with his ſhattered forces. The fate of Miciſlaus is not mentioned; but moſt probably he retreated into his own country, in order to recruit his army. Henry purſuing his victory, penetrated as far as Sleſwick, to which city he laid ſiege. The place was taken by ſtorm; and as at that time it was a conſiderable mart, an immenſe booty fell into the hands of the Imperialiſts. Theſe diſaſters obliged Gormo to ſue for peace, which was granted him, on condition he would allow his Chriſtian ſubjects the free exerciſe of their religion. Miciſlaus being left to himſelf, was compelled to accede to the peace, upon ſtill harder terms; thoſe of paying an annual tribute, and embracing Chriſtianity ‡.

Henry the Fowler defeats the Danes and the Venedi.

THIS laſt article, the effect of the emperor's zeal for his religion, ſome modern writers pretend to deny; but they are eaſily refuted by the teſtimony of the ancient annaliſts §. Nay, it was farther ſtipulated, that the whole nation of the Obotrites ſhould ſubmit to baptiſm. It ſeems indeed that the Chriſtian religion had already made ſome progreſs among the

Henry the Fowler regulates the frontiers of the empire.

* This Bernard was the firſt margrave of the Redarii. Bangert calls him duke of Lunenburg; but I know not upon what authority.

† Micrael, in his obſervations on Helmoldus, ſays, that the combined armies of Danes and Venedi loſt 120,000 men; but ſurely there muſt be ſome miſtake as to the numbers.

‡ Wittikind. Annal. Herman. Contract. Lamb. Schafnaburg. Sigebert. Gemblac. Reginon. Contin. Adam. Brem. Helmold.

§ The annaliſt Saxo, and the Contin. Reginon. affirm, that both the Daniſh and Venedic kings were obliged to become Chriſtians; but this is generally denied by the Daniſh hiſtorians in regard to Gormo.

Obotrites; for we find, not long after, that Aldenburg, the reſidence of their princes, was erected into an epiſcopal ſee. Henry's view on this occaſion muſt have been the ſame as that of Charlemagne in regard to the Saxons; namely, to conciliate the minds of the conquered, by the exerciſe of the Chriſtian religion. For the greater ſecurity of the frontiers he created certain lords or governors, by the title of margraves, who at firſt were not hereditary officers, but temporary commanders of the garriſoned towns and fortreſſes on the frontiers. Neither was this a new office, as ſome pretend, but an inſtitution adopted by the Carlovingian and even by the Roman emperors, who uſed to appoint commanders for the ſame purpoſe, known by the name of Duces limitanei. With this ſame deſign Henry thought proper to diſtribute a certain proportion of the conquered lands among his favourite officers, who bore the title of Milites, and in return were bound to military ſervice. As they had acquired their lands by a grant from the emperor, they had no other way of ſecuring the poſſeſſion thereof to their children than by ſteadily adhering to that prince's intereſt. The emperor's view, however, in this regulation of the limits, does not ſeem to have been ſo much the welfare and ſecurity of the empire, as the advancement and grandeur of his own family. This appeared from his naming ſuch perſons for margraves as were his own vaſſals in Saxony, or related to him by the ties of blood. The Milites or new gentry, whom he inveſted with the lands belonging to the Venedi, were likewiſe for the moſt part natives of Saxony. From that time the dukes of Saxony formed greater pretenſions to a juriſdiction over the Venedi than even the German emperors themſelves, and looked upon the princes of that country as their immediate vaſſals, although their ſubmiſſion had been made to Henry, not as duke of Saxony, but as head of the Germanic empire *.

* Hermannus Contract. Bacmeiſter, Beehr, Kluver, Buckholtz.

934. Fresh quarrel between Henry the Fowler and the Obotrites.

THE peace, however, was not of long continuance. Miciſlaus having been obliged to yield to a ſuperior force, was ready to embrace the firſt opportunity of freeing himſelf from the Imperial yoke. The Obotrites with great reluctance complied with the payment of the tribute, and with the exerciſe of a religion to which they had always bore an implacable averſion. Their minds being exaſperated under theſe circumſtances, they ſeized the occaſion, when Henry was engaged in a freſh war with the Hungarians, of falling upon the prieſts and Imperial prefects, and putting them all to the ſword. The news of this commotion came to the ears of the emperor, who had lately obtained a ſignal advantage over the Hungarians, and driven them out of Germany. At the ſame time having received intelligence that Miciſlaus was preparing to invade the frontiers of the empire, he marched his army, with the utmoſt expedition, into Saxony, and pitched his camp at Tangermund * on the Elbe. Here he waited ſome days for a reinforcement of troops, when a deputation arrived from Miciſlaus, to make an apology for what had happened, and to negociate a reconciliation. The deputies conſiſted of the chief nobility of the country, with a grand retinue of two hundred horſemen, and forty chariots. But, inſtead of making an humble ſubmiſſion, they entered into a juſtification of what had been tranſacted on the part of the Obotrites. From ſeveral inſtances they made it appear that the avarice of the prieſts, and the cruelty of the prefects, had been paſt all bearing, and rouzed the people's juſt indignation. Whether the emperor was ſatisfied with this vindication, we are not informed; but we do not hear of his march-

* Bangert, in his notes on Helmoldus, makes it Angermund; but I apprehend he is miſtaken. Angermund is in the Ucker Marck of Brandenburg, and at ſome diſtance from the Elbe. The right reading muſt have been, "at Tangermund," a ſmall town in the Middle Marche of Brandenburg, ſituate at the conflux of the Tanger and the Elbe. It was formerly a fortified town, and ſuffered greatly in the Swediſh wars.

ing any further than Tangermund, or of his taking any other ſtep to be revenged of the Obotrites *.

Death of Miciſlaus.

THIS ſame year Miciſlaus I. reſigned his laſt breath, after a long and tempeſtuous reign, in which he was obliged to contend with the overgrown power of the houſe of Saxony. He had been twice married; 1. to a Swediſh princeſs, by whom he had two ſons, Miſtevoy and Miſſidin, who died young; and two daughters, Orina, married to a prince of Finland; and Odira, betrothed to a prince of Denmark. 2. His ſecond wife was the daughter of Eric prince of Pluſſow, by whom he had one ſon, his heir and ſucceſſor Miſtevoy II. ſurnamed Billung, king of the Venedi and Obotrites †.

* The above paragraph, intire as it ſtands, was taken from Chron. Mecklenb. in Latomus and Bangert; but I do not meet with theſe particulars in any of the ancient annals.

† Chemnitz, Buckholtz, &c.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Containing the reign of Miſtevoy II. ſurnamed Billung, till his death in 989.

Billung ſucceeds to the crown. War between the Venedi and the Saxons. War between Otho the Great and the Danes. Otho turns his arms againſt the Venedi. The Venedi are obliged to embrace Chriſtianity. Affairs of the empire. War between the Venedi and the Saxons renewed. The emperor Otho defeats the Venedi. Affairs of the empire. Affairs of the Obotrites. Diſpute between Selibur and Billung. Death of Otho the Great. Billung marries the ſiſter of Wago biſhop of Aldenburg. He quarrels with that prelate, repudiates his wife, and throws off the Imperial yoke. The Venedi renounce Chriſtianity, and wage war againſt the Saxons. The battle of Brandenburg. Peace concluded. Death of Billung. His iſſue.

XIII. MISTEVOY II. ſurnamed BILLUNG.

The Thirteenth KING of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES.

From the YEAR 934 to 989.

EMPERORS of GERMANY,

HENRY I. 919. OTHO I. ſurnamed the GREAT, 936. OTHO II. 973. OTHO III. 983.

KINGS of ENGLAND,

ATHELSTAN, 925. EDMUND the PIOUS, 941. EDRED, 948. EDWY, 955. EDGAR, 959. EDWARD II. 975. ETHELRED II. 979.

IN proportion as we advance in our diſcovery of Venedic antiquities, freſh gleams of light direct our wandering courſe, till at length we eſpy land, after a long and hazardous navigation. We are now arrived at the reign of Miſtevoy II.

ſurnamed Billung, that memorable period, with which Adam and Helmoldus begin their accounts of the kings of the Slavi, the undoubted progenitors of the ſerene princes of the houſe of Mecklenburg. From this period * the ſucceſſion of thoſe princes may be eaſily deduced, and no longer depends on family tradition, but is firmly ſupported by hiſtorical monuments. From the ſame ſource we derive a curious detail of the long and vigorous ſtruggles of the Venedic nation in defence of their religious and civil conſtitution: for religion ſeems to have been the chief cauſe of thoſe frequent wars, which the Venedi ſo manfully ſuſtained againſt the united efforts of their inveterate enemies the Danes and Saxons. The method of propagating Chriſtianity at that time was by fire and ſword; arguments of the greateſt force, and to which the Venedi at length were obliged to ſubmit. Such indeed were the arguments uſed againſt the Saxons themſelves by Charlemagne, who bound that nation to his yoke by means of the Chriſtian religion. The Venedi were therefore obliged to quit their idolatrous rites; but ſoon relapſed to their ancient worſhip. Hence aroſe perpetual wars and commotions, which reduced both the country and its princes to the brink of deſtruction.

934. Billung ſucceeds to the crown.

UPON the death of Miciſlaus, his only ſon Miſtevoy II. ſurnamed Billung, then an infant, ſucceeded to the kingdom of the Obotrites. The long minority of this prince was the cauſe of his making no figure in the beginning of his reign; but he afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the wiſdom of his government, and the greatneſs of his exploits. At the time of Miſtevoy's acceſſion to the crown, Henry the Fowler had undertaken another expedition againſt the Hungarians, which was attended with conſiderable ſucceſs. After defeating the Hungarian army at the battle of Merſeburg, he drove thoſe invaders out of Auſtria, and reſtored the margraviate, which had been inſtituted by Charlemagne. Elated with thoſe advantages, the victorious prince was preparing to march an army into Italy,

* A Billungo ſi illuſtriſſimæ familiæ principes numeremus, ſerie nunquam interrupta ad hæc tempora deſcendere licebit. Bang. not. in Helmold. p. 35.

when

when a fit of apoplexy obliged him to return to Manſleben, where he breathed his laſt, and was interred in the abbey of Quedlinburg. Before he expired, he recommended his eldeſt ſon Otho for his ſucceſſor to the princes aſſembled in that city. Accordingly Otho, the firſt of his name, and who, by his memorable actions, acquired the ſurname of Great, was elected to the imperial dignity at Aix la Chapelle. 936.

War between the Venedi and the Saxons.

THE beginning of this prince's reign was remarkable for the inteſtine diſturbances of the empire; the lords of the great fiefs aiming at independency, and the emperor at arbitrary power. The oppoſition was ſupported by his own mother Matilda, who was deſirous to raiſe her younger ſon Henry to the imperial throne. Theſe diſputes inflamed all Germany, and reduced it to a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion *. The Obotrites, ever impatient of a foreign yoke, embraced this opportunity of having recourſe again to arms, and aſſerting their liberty. Billung (for by this name ſhall we henceforth diſtinguiſh this prince) was as yet of a very tender age, and therefore incapable of commanding the Venedic army. But the nation did not want officers of valour and abilities, who were ready to revenge their country's wrongs againſt its hardy oppreſſors. The two armies coming to an engagement, the Saxon troops were intirely defeated, and the imperial general Haica (or, as others call him, Hugo) was among the ſlain. The emperor, having received intelligence of theſe commotions on the frontiers, appointed Gero, prefect of the limits, with a conſiderable army, to repel the incurſions of the Venedi. The particulars of this war have not been tranſmitted down to our times; we are only informed in general, that the Venedi fought ſeveral battles, and defended themſelves with the utmoſt bravery; but, after a ſeries of unproſperous events, in 940.

* It was during theſe commotions that Otho brought Everhard duke of Franconia and his accomplices to a trial, and condemned them to the puniſhment called κυνοφορια, which was to carry each a dog upon his ſhoulders from the place of his habitation as far as Magdeburg. In this manner did the antients of the North puniſh the diſturbers of the public tranquility. See Bangert's notes on Helmoldus, where he treats very diffuſedly of the κυνοφορια.

which

which they diſplayed the greateſt firmneſs and conſtancy of mind, they were at length obliged to ſubmit *.

THIS ſubmiſſion, however, was but of ſhort duration; the tyranny of the prefect Gero became inſupportable, and ſoon occaſioned another inſurrection. That inhuman governor is ſaid to have invited thirty of the principal lords of the Venedi to a banquet, and to have aſſaſſinated them in the moſt barbarous manner. Irritated by this act of cruelty, the oppreſſed nation had recourſe once more to arms, without being diſcouraged by their late unſucceſsful ſtruggle. The fortune of war was often unfavourable to them, yet their love of liberty was ſtill unconquerable; they made temporary ſubmiſſions, but always held themſelves in readineſs to embrace the firſt opportunity of throwing off the yoke of ſubjection. Notwithſtanding the many ſufferings they had undergone, ſtill, as the Saxon annaliſt obſerves †, they preferred war to peace, and were determined to expoſe themſelves to the greateſt miſery, for the recovery of their darling liberties. This was the ſource of the obſtinate ſtruggle between them and the Saxons, the latter contending for glory and empire, and the former for freedom and independence.

948. War between Otho the Great and the Danes.

AT this very juncture the emperor Otho was engaged in a war againſt the Danes, with an intent of revenging the indignity offered the empire by the attack on Sleſwick, where the imperial margrave, with part of the Saxon colony, were barbarouſly murdered. Harold VI. ſurnamed Blaatand, was then king of Denmark, and had undertaken an expedition to Sweden, with a view of aſſiſting Stubiern, king of that country. This

* Wittikind. Annal. Sax.

† The conſtancy of the Venedi, on this occaſion, is admirably well expreſſed by Wittikind, the Saxon annaliſt, whoſe words I ſhall give in the original: Illi vero nihilominus bellum quam pacem elegerunt, omnem miſeriam caræ libertati poſtponentes. Eſt namque hujuſcemodi genus hominum—victu leviſſimo aſſuetum; et quod noſtris agnovi oneri eſſe ſolet, Sclavi pro quâdam voluptate ducunt. Tranſeunt ſane dies plurimi, his pro gloria et pro magno et lato imperio, illis pro libertate ac ultima ſervitute amoliendâ variè certantibus.

prince

prince having been diſpoſſeſſed of his dominions by Eric, fled with his ſiſter named Gyntha, to Denmark, where Harold was ſmitten with her beauty, and eſpouſed the young princeſs, together with her brother's cauſe. In the mean time, Otho hearing of the abovementioned barbarity, marched a powerful army into Denmark, and penetrated as far as Jutland. By this irruption Harold was obliged to retire from Sweden to the defence of his own dominions. At length the two armies came in ſight of each other, and a battle enſued, the particulars of which, according to cuſtom, are differently related by the German and Daniſh hiſtorians. But the conſequence ſeems to prove the advantage to have been on the ſide of Otho; for by the treaty concluded this year between the two princes, it was ſtipulated that Otho ſhould keep a garriſon in Sleſwick, and Harold, with his whole family and nation, ſhould embrace the Chriſtian religion. At the ceremony of the royal baptiſm Otho the emperor ſtood ſponſor *.

Otho turns his arms againſt the Venedi.

The war in Denmark being ended to his ſatisfaction, Otho turned his victorious arms againſt the Venedi. We are not informed of the military detail of this expedition, the monkiſh writers of thoſe days being more accurate in recording the progreſs of religion than that of empire. They acquaint us in general, that the valiant emperor Otho, after the example of his father, overthrew the Venedi in battle, and obliged them to ſubmit to the ſame terms as the Danes: theſe were, to pay an annual tribute, and to embrace Chriſtianity. The terror of this prince's name muſt have been very great, when all the Venedic tribes, as far as the river Oder, were compelled to ſubmit to the ceremony of baptiſm. This is the æra of planting Chriſtianity in that country; at which time ſeveral churches were built, as well as monaſteries of men and women. But theſe converſions being involuntary, were of courſe inſincere, as appears by the frequent relapſes of the Venedi to their antient religion †.

* Adam. Br. Helmold. Annal. Sax. † Ibid.

At

948. The Venedi are obliged to embrace Chriſtianity.

At this ſame time was founded * by the emperor Otho the biſhopric of Aldenburg, of which we ſhall have frequent occaſion to make mention in this hiſtory. Aldenburg, now Oldenburg, is a very antient town in Wagria, and formerly the capital of that province. It is ſituated near the ſea-ſide, on the weſtern ſhore of the Baltic, and had anciently a very commodious harbour, acceſſible to large veſſels; but in proceſs of time the harbour has been ſpoiled, and this once great city is dwindled away to an inſignificant village. The conveniency of its ſituation, bordering on one ſide on the Saxons, on the other on the Danes, induced the princes of the Venedi and Obotrites to make it their reſidence, to the end that they might be at hand to repel the incurſions of a foreign enemy. The Venedi in their language called it Stargard, which ſignifies the ſame as Aldenburg in the German; viz. an old town. This biſhopric was afterwards ſplit into three, Aldenburg, Ratzeburg, and Mecklenburgh; the former of theſe was by Henry the Lion, tranſlated to Lubeck, and is ſtill a Proteſtant biſhopric, held by the houſe of Holſtein; the other two were ſecularized to the advantage of the dukes of Mecklenburg, at the treaty of Weſtphalia. Wagria at that time was not confined to the little ſpot of ground about Aldenburg, known at preſent by that name; but contained the whole country between the rivers Trave, Suala, and Suentin, and was bounded eaſt and north, as far as Lubeck, by the Baltic Sea. This tract of land comprized a conſiderable part of Holſtein, ſince the towns of Lubeck, Sigeburg, Oldeſloe, Plone, Neuſtadt, Lutkenburg, and Altenburg, were within its limits. It continued in the poſſeſſion of the Venedi till 1140, when it was given by Henry the Lion, upon his conqueſt of that country, to Adolphus II. count of Holſtein. The ſee of Aldenburg was made ſubject to that of Hamburg, of which city Aadaldagus was then archbiſhop. The firſt biſhop of Aldenburg's name was Marco, to whoſe juriſdiction the whole coun-

* Some pretend that this biſhopric was founded in 952; but I have followed M. Gebhardi's opinion, as the moſt probable.

try,

try of the Obotrites, as far as the river Peine, was made ſubject. The cathedral was dedicated to St. John the Baptiſt. Other churches and monaſteries were erected among the Venedi, and ſufficient revenues aſſigned for their maintenance. About the ſame time was founded a famous nunnery in the city of Mecklenburg. The whole country was divided into eighteen pagi, and all but three, according to Adam of Bremen, were converted to Chriſtianity. Biſhop Marco baptized a multitude of the inhabitants as far as Demmin; and his example was followed by a great number of eccleſiaſtics of different orders, who were commiſſioned to preach the goſpel in thoſe parts *.

952. Affairs of the empire.

Not long after theſe eſtabliſhments in favour of Chriſtianity, Otho determined upon an expedition into Italy, where his aſſiſtance was implored by Alix, widow of king Lotharius, who had been ſtripped of her dominions by Berenger the ſecond. This princeſs's intreaties were reinforced by the ſolicitations of pope Agapetus II. who was apprehenſive of being cruſhed by the ſame power. But before the emperor began his march, he was willing to put the frontiers of Saxony into a ſtate of defence againſt any incurſions of the Danes or the Venedi. For this purpoſe he diſpoſed of that duchy, which he had hitherto adminiſtered himſelf, in favour of Herman Billung, a Saxon of conſiderable rank, who was poſſeſſed, in his own right, of the town of Lunenburg, and of the adjacent territory. This nobleman had been educated at the emperor's court, where he recommended himſelf to that prince's favour, and by degrees was entruſted with ſeveral great employments. In the beginning of his adminiſtration, he was not ſo abſolute as the other hereditary dukes, who were ſuch in their own right; he poſſeſſed that office in the original meaning of the word, as a deputy, or lieutenant, though it afterwards became hereditary in his family †.

The emperor having thus ſettled his affairs in Germany, marched his army into Italy, where he reſcued Alix from op-

* Adam. Brem. Helm. Ann. Sax. Pfeffel.
† Wittikind, Pfeffel, Heiſſe.

preſſion, made her his wife, and obliged Berenger and his ſon Albert to yield homage to the empire. His victory he uſed with great moderation, inveſting Berenger with a conſiderable part of his dominions, and reſerving to himſelf little more than
953. the glory of his conqueſts. Soon after the emperor's return to
954. Germany, Ludolphus duke of Suabia, and ſon of Otho by a
955. former marriage, finding himſelf ill treated by his father, at the inſtigation of his ſtep-mother Alix, broke out into a rebellion. He brought over to his party his uncle Bruno archbiſhop of Cologne, Frederick archbiſhop of Mentz, and Conrad duke of Franconia. He had alſo the aſſiſtance of the Hungarians, who were eager to embrace every opportunity of diſtreſſing the empire. But the rebels being ſoon obliged to ſubmit *, the emperor turned his arms againſt the Hungarians, who, according to their uſual cuſtom, were ravaging Germany. At length he came up with them on the banks of the Lech, near Augſburg, in Bavaria, and obtained a moſt ſignal victory †.

War between the Venedi and the Saxons renewed.

WHILE the emperor was engaged in war with the Hungarians, the Venedi, uneaſy under their preſent ſituation, ſeized the opportunity to attempt the recovery of their former independence. They were farther encouraged by Wigman, or Wichiman, who was jealous of the honours conferred on his nephew Herman duke of Saxony. This Wigman had revolted ſome time before, but was defeated and taken priſoner by his above-mentioned relation. He had the good fortune, however, to make his eſcape, and to retire among the Venedi, where he excited ſeveral of the tribes to take up arms. The princes who headed thoſe troops, were Naco and Stoinef ‡, who reigned over the Venedi of Pomerania, or, as Hepidannus expreſſes it, over the Wilzi, the Circipani, and the Tollenſes. They were joined by a body of the Obotrites, but on this occaſion no mention is made of Billung by the Saxon hiſtorians. The two bro-

* Ludolphus took the opportunity, when his father was hunting, to throw himſelf bare-headed at his feet, and to implore his mercy, which was granted.

† Pfeffel, Heiſſe, Ann. Boicæ gentis. ‡ Others call him Stoneſgarus.

thers,

thers, Naco and Stoinef, had taken poſt at the town of Schwedt*, on this ſide the river Kranne, in the Ucker Marck, where they were very near being ſurprized by Herman. This general, however, laid ſiege to Garte †, in Pomerania, and made himſelf maſter of the place, after a vigorous reſiſtance. But whether it was owing to the approach of winter, or to ſome other cauſe, not mentioned by hiſtorians, Herman, after this ſucceſs, returned to Saxony. The two brothers, taking advantage of his abſence, renewed their incurſions, and laid waſte the territories belonging to the empire ‡.

The emperor defeats the Venedi. 955.

THE emperor had about this time obtained a complete victory over the Hungarians, when hearing of the ravages committed by the Venedi, he thought proper to march his army towards the Baltic. In this expedition he was attended by his ſon Ludolphus, the marquis Gero, and Boleſlaus prince of Rugen. The army of the Venedi, conſiſting of the tribes of the Obotrites, the Wilzi, Circipani, and Tollenſes, was intrenched on the banks of the river Rednitz ||, under the command of the two brothers. The emperor, having thrown a bridge of boats over the river, thought proper to attack them in this ſituation; and, after an obſtinate diſpute, in which Stoinef was ſlain, victory declared itſelf in favour of Otho. We hear no farther particulars in regard to this action, and all we know of its conſequences is, that the Venedi were once more rendered tributary to the victors §.

961. Affairs of empire.

OTHO was now arrived at the higheſt pitch of glory, having ſubdued all his enemies in Germany, when freſh diſturbances aroſe in Italy, which occaſioned his ſecond expedition into that country. Pope John XII. complained of the tyrannical behaviour of Berenger, and again implored the emperor's aſſiſtance. Otho having marched a formidable army over the Alps, obliged Berenger to ſave himſelf by flight, and was crowned

* Wittikind calls it Suithluiſcranne.
† Wittikind calls it Civitas Cocareſcemiorum. ‡ Wittik. Ann. Sax.
|| The Saxon Annaliſt calls it Raxa.
§ Wittik. Ann. Sax. Hildeſh. Chron Quedlinb. Ditmar. Hepidannus.

962. emperor at Rome. He reſided in Italy about five years, during which time he acted without control, convoking councils, and making and depoſing ſovereign pontifs. He eſtabliſhed a fundamental law, that the kingdom of Italy and empire of Rome ſhould belong to the prince who poſſeſſed the empire of Germany; and that no pope ſhould be choſen without the conſent and authority of the emperor *.

Affairs of the Obotrites.

963. DURING the emperor's abſence, Herman duke of Saxony was entruſted with the care of guarding the frontiers towards the Baltic, and of preventing any incurſions of the Venedi. The Obotrites were very quiet under Billung, who ſeemed to apply his mind to the arts of peace, and to the improving of his country after the long and dreadful calamities of war. He eſtabliſhed his reſidence in the city of Mecklenburg, which is ſaid to have been then in ſo flouriſhing a condition, as to contain twenty miles in circumference. Aldenburg and the reſt of Wagria were ſubject at that time to a prince named Selibur †, who in all probability was a couſin-german of Billung; for beyond all doubt the princes of the Obotrites were before that time ſovereigns of Wagria, but how they came to be diſpoſſeſſed of it I find no where mentioned. It is moſt likely this had been effected by ſome teſtamentary diſpoſition of thoſe princes; for as the hereditary ſucceſſion obtained among the Venedi, they never would have ſuffered the province of Wagria to be transferred to another family. Be that as it may, thoſe princes ſeem to have been diſpoſed to throw off the German yoke in the emperor's abſence, but were overawed by Herman duke of Saxony, who obliged them to pay the annual tribute ‡. This ſame year, Gero, the margrave, had ſubdued the prince of the Luſicii and Selpuli, and

* Sigon. Ditmar. Heiſſe, Pfeffel.

† Wittikind and Annal. Sax. inform us, that Selibur præerat Waaris, Miſtaw, Obodritis. It is proper to obſerve, that Miciſlaus, Miſtui, Miſtua, and Mirilla, in the Saxon writers, are the ſame perſon.

‡ Annal. Sax. Ditmar.

placed

placed Miſca * on the throne of the Licikaviki †, after killing his brother ‡. Here we have an account of ſeveral princes of the Venedi, Naco and Stoinef of the Hither Pomeranians, Miſca of the Luticii or Wilzi, Selibur of the Wagrii, and Miſtui of the Obotrites.

965. Diſpute between Selibur and Billung.

OTHO having regulated the affairs of Italy, returned to Germany, and held a diet at Cologne to quiet the diſturbances that had broke out in Lorrain. But the Romans revolting in his abſence, and depoſing John XIII. whom he had raiſed to that ſee, he flew back to Italy, and puniſhed the ringleaders of that 966. 967. inſurrection. Then he aſſociated his ſon Otho, by his ſecond wife Alix, to the imperial dignity, and negociated a match between that prince and Theophania, daughter of the emperor Romanus the Younger. During theſe tranſactions, a warm diſpute aroſe between Selibur prince of Wagria, and Billung king of the Obotrites, concerning the limits of their reſpective dominions. This diſpute was carried on with great animoſity on both ſides, and had like to have terminated in an open war; but whether they were overawed by Herman duke of Saxony, who, as already hath been mentioned, held a powerful army in readineſs on the frontiers, they thought it moſt prudent to refer the matter to arbitration, in conſequence of which they pitched upon Herman for their umpire. Herman pronounced ſentence in favour of Billung, and condemned Selibur in a fine of fifteen talents of ſilver. Highly diſſatisfied with the deciſion, Selibur entered into a treaty with Wigman, the abovementioned rebel, and prepared to join him with all his forces. But Herman having intelligence of his deſign, marched into Wagria, and inveſted the town of Aldenburg, where Selibur reſided. The beſieged having no hopes of ſuccours, were at

* This Miſca muſt have been a different perſon from Miſcia, ſon-in-law of Boleſlaus the Bohemian, whom Wittikind mentions in the ſame page; becauſe it appears from Koſmas, that Boleſlaus's ſon-in-law was duke of Poland, and Wittikind informs us that this prince was in alliance with the emperor Otho, and on that account had been attacked by Wigman, who was ſupported by the princes of the Venedi.

† Theſe muſt have been the Lutizii. ‡ Ditmar. Wittikind.

length

length obliged to capitulate, and Selibur ſued for pardon. Herman treated him with great ſeverity, ſtripped him of all his dominions, and conferred them on his ſon, who had been a hoſtage at his court. The town was plundered by the Saxon troops, and part of the garriſon belonging to Wigman were put to the ſword. Among the ſpoils was the ſtatue of Saturn in braſs gilt *, which was carried about in deriſion by the ſoldiers, and the duke returned in triumph to Saxony †.

973. Death of Otho the Great.

FROM the time of the above tranſaction, we find no farther mention of the Obotrites till the memorable æra of nine hundred and ſeventy-three; then it was that the emperor Otho the Great breathed his laſt at Memleben in Saxony, after returning triumphant from Italy, where he had the glory of reſtoring the empire of Charlemagne. He was ſucceeded by his ſon, Otho II. ſurnamed the Sanguinary, who had been already elected and crowned during the life of his father. This ſame year was remarkable for the death of Herman Billung, the firſt duke of Saxony of that family; as alſo for the deceaſe of Edward the ſecond biſhop of Aldenburg. Herman was followed in the dukedom by his ſon Bernard I. and Edward in the biſhoprick by Wago, a prelate whoſe connexions with Billung merit particular notice in the hiſtory of the Obotrites ‡.

Billung marries the ſiſter of Wago, biſhop of Aldenburg.

BILLUNG was now arrived to a very high degree of reputation among the different tribes of the Venedi, and reſpected for his wiſe government, by which he had conciliated the affection of his people. Though both himſelf and his ſubjects profeſſed the Chriſtian religion, yet as their converſion had been the effect of compulſion, it does not appear to have been ſincere. We have no accounts of the earlier tranſactions of his reign, except that he had buried his firſt wife, named Modea, a Poliſh princeſs, by whom he had three ſons, Miciſlaus, Sedericus, and Naco ‖. Wago, who had

* This ſhews that paganiſm was ſtill the predominant religion in Wagria.

† Wittikind, Annal. Sax. Ditmar. ‡ Annal. Sax. Pfeffel, Heiſſe.

‖ M. Gebhardi denies the two latter to have been the ſons of Billung, becauſe Helmoldus calls them only princes of the Venedi, but does not mention their being brothers. However, all the hiſtorians of Mecklenburg make them ſons of Billung.

been

been lately raiſed to the ſee of Aldenburg *, had a ſiſter named Hardike, a lady of exquiſite beauty, of whom Billung was ſo greatly enamoured, as to propoſe making her the partner of his throne. Several times had he applied to her brother for his conſent, but met with various delays, and even with affronts, from ſome of the biſhop's family †. Whether this was owing to the national prejudice of the Saxons againſt the Venedi, (for Wago was a native of Saxony) or to a doubt concerning the ſincerity of Billung's converſion, I cannot pretend to determine: this, however, is certain, that Billung's affection for the lady muſt have been extremely violent, ſince he was no way diſcouraged by the difficulties that had been uſed to obſtruct his courtſhip. Even the biſhop himſelf ſeems to have diſliked the match, but obſerving the conſtancy of the prince, and withal apprehending that a farther refuſal might be of prejudice to Chriſtianity, which had been but lately planted in that country, he gave his conſent, and the nuptials between Billung and his ſiſter were celebrated with great ſolemnity. By this princeſs he had only two daughters, whoſe names were Judith and Hodica. We find that Hodica was educated in a nunnery at Mecklenburg, and became abbeſs ‡ of the houſe before the uſual age preſcribed for that office ‖. 974.

THIS education, in appearance ſo unſuitable to the dignity of a young princeſs, had been owing to the extraordinary zeal

* This city, with the province of Wagria, muſt have devolved to Billung, by the death of Selibur's ſon, or by ſome other accident, as appears from what follows.

† They ſaid it was very improper ſo fair a lady ſhould be matched to a rough and unpoliſhed huſband, inculto et agreſti viro; theſe are the words of Helmoldus. It is very extraordinary that ſuch expreſſions ſhould have been uſed againſt a great prince by the domeſtics of a biſhop. But it is proper to obſerve, that in thoſe times of bigotry and ignorance, the biſhops were apt to conſider themſelves as upon a level with princes; beſides, if we conſider the antipathy ariſing from the difference of country and religion, we may eaſily account for the contemptuous language of the Saxon writers, even when treating of the princes of the Venedi.

‡ She muſt have been inſtituted abbeſs in her tenth or eleventh year, for her mother was not married till 973, and the war that afterwards enſued was in 982.

‖ Adam Brem. Helmold.

of

of the good biſhop. Her brother, prince Miciſlaus, having been always averſe to Chriſtianity, ſhewed his diſapprobation of a ſtep ſo greatly tending to the encouragement of that religion. He remonſtrated to his father the diſpleaſure that prince had given to his ſubjects, by deſerting the eſtabliſhed rites and cuſtoms of his country, and marrying a German * conſort; and farther repreſented to him the ill conſequences which might probably ariſe from confining his daughter to the gloomy incloſure of a monaſtery. Such an effect had theſe remonſtrances upon the mind of the Venedic monarch, that he reſolved from that time to repudiate his wife, and to renounce the Chriſtian religion. From the nature of this reſolution it evidently appears, that Billung's affection for his once beloved Hardike was greatly upon the decline; but whether this proceeded from any ill behaviour of that princeſs, or from her huſband's inconſtancy, is not mentioned by hiſtorians. Cautious, however, in his proceedings, he did not carry his deſign immediately into execution, leſt he ſhould entangle himſelf in a war with the Saxons, who would not fail to eſpouſe the cauſe of Chriſtianity, as well as that of the injured Hardike †.

WHILE Billung was thus fluctuating in his mind with regard to the means of executing his purpoſe, he received a kind meſſage from his brother-in-law the biſhop of Aldenburg, That he intended to make a viſitation at the city of Mecklenburg, according to the duty of his paſtoral function. This intelligence the Venedic monarch received with great joy, as it afforded him an opportunity of attempting the reduction of the epiſcopal revenue. He apprehended the ſureſt way of wounding Chriſtianity would be to diminiſh the influence and weight of its paſtors, by depriving them of a generous ſubſiſtence. As ſoon as he was apprized of Wago's approach,

* This is a farther proof of the antipathy between the two nations; and if there had been any Venedic hiſtorians extant, we ſhould find the Saxons treated with as much contempt in their writings, as the Venedi are in thoſe of the Saxons.

† Adam Brem. Helmold.

he

he went out to meet him, attended by a numerous retinue of the nobility, and conducting him into the town, entertained him at the royal palace with all the appearance of cordiality and friendſhip. During Wago's ſtay in that capital, Billung, after thanking him for the repeated ſervices done both to himſelf and to his ſubjects, made a propoſal to the prelate, that if he would reſign the tax which was annually collected for the maintenance of the ſee of Aldenburg, he would grant him in exchange a certain number of manors, with liberty to chuſe them out of any part of his dominions. For the better illuſtration of this matter, it will be proper to obſerve, that upon the erecting of the biſhoprick of Aldenburg, the emperor Otho I. appointed an annual collection, by way of tithe, to be raiſed over the whole country of the Obotrites, for the ſupport of that ſee. This collection conſiſted of a meaſure of corn for every plow, of forty cords * of flax, with about two ſhillings in ſpecie †, and two pence to the collector. Billung's pretence for the exchange was to appoint a collector himſelf, and to aſſign the profits ariſing from thence as a portion for his daughter, who being Wago's niece, had a conſiderable ſhare in that prelate's affection. The biſhop, apprehending no inconvenience in the exchange, conſented to the propoſal; and having finiſhed his paſtoral viſitation, returned to Wagria. He had not been long departed, when Billung gave private directions for ſeizing the cattle belonging to thoſe manors, and for committing other outrages, which ſhould render them of no ſervice to the preſent poſſeſſor. Theſe violences the biſhop diſcovered to have been done by the authority of his brother-in-law; yet thought it moſt prudent to diſſemble, leſt by the ſeverity of his reproofs he ſhould drive him to extremities. The meaſure he therefore embraced, was to make a friendly application to Billung, and to complain of the hard-

* Helmoldus calls them reſtes lini.

† The ſame author makes uſe of the words duodecim nummi probatæ monetæ; what nummi theſe were I cannot find; I ſhould imagine he intends to reduce the value of the tithe to Roman coin, and then by nummus he may mean the ſeſterce, which is ſeven farthings half farthing.

ſhips he had ſuſtained, begging for a redreſs of his grievances. Billung, pretending great affection for the good prelate, declared that he was altogether innocent, and that thoſe outrages muſt have been committed by a gang of banditti belonging to the Rani or the Wilzi. He promiſed, however, that he would endeavour to prevent the like inconveniences for the future, and appoint a proper guard to defend thoſe poſſeſſions. With this anſwer the biſhop ſeemed to be highly pleaſed, and reſolved patiently to wait the event; but it was not long before both the father and the ſon pulled off the maſk, and making a ſecond incurſion on the biſhop's eſtate, ſet fire to the farm-houſes on the different manors *, drove away the tenants, and to complete the tragedy, Billung repudiated the biſhop's ſiſter †.

Billung repudiates his wife.

THIS prince's conduct on the above occaſion appears to have been very deſerving of cenſure; but we are to make this allowance, that the ſtory is related by Saxon eccleſiaſtics, who had a ſtrong prejudice againſt the Venedi and their religion. It is farther to be obſerved, that the converſion of the Obotrites and of their king appears to have been the effect of compulſion; and conſequently thoſe collections for the maintenance of prelates were conſidered by the whole country as a heavy burden and oppreſſion. Beſides, we are ignorant what perſonal provocation Billung might have received from Wago; for although this prelate is repreſented by Helmoldus as a perſon of great ſanctity and meekneſs of ſpirit, yet in defence of the rights of the church, he might, perhaps, have exerted himſelf with too much warmth. This however is certain, that a deadly rupture enſued betwixt church and ſtate; and from that time the Chriſtian religion began to decline among the Venedi.

* Beſides the tithe or collection aſſigned on the Obotrites by Otho I. the biſhop of Aldenburg had two handſome ſeats, called by Helmoldus, Curtes, to which he uſed frequently to retire. One was Boſowe, ſituate near the Ploen lake, in Holſtein, where biſhop Wicelin built a church, to which Helmoldus the hiſtorian belonged. There is a pleaſant iſland on the lake which is ſtill known by the name of the Biſhop's Iſland. The other ſeat was at a place called Nezenna, upon the river Trave, not far from Pronſtorp, and now named Gniſſow.

† Adam Brem. Helmold.

THIS

Affairs of the Empire.

THIS revolution indeed was owing in great meaſure to a change of affairs in the empire. Otho the Great was no more, and the two ſucceeding emperors, the ſecond and third of that name, were ſo much employed in the Italian wars, that they were obliged in ſome meaſure to neglect the affairs of Germany. Such opportunities we have ſeen the Venedi always ready to embrace, in hopes of breaking their chains, and of reſtoring their ancient religion. Their treaties indeed could be conſidered only in the nature of truces; fear and compulſion would often induce them to ſubmit to conditions, which upon a change of circumſtances they were ſure to reject; and on the like occaſions it was cuſtomary for all obligations to ceaſe. Their love of liberty was unconquerable, and no power could bind them to renounce their natural rights. Billung, however, was ſtill kept in awe by Bernard duke of Saxony, a potent and warlike prince, who kept a vigilant eye over the Venedi. A circumſtance however to be obſerved in the conduct of our monarch was, that notwithſtanding the diſlike he had conceived to Chriſtianity, it does not appear that he ever openly renounced that religion. Certain it is, that when he invaded Brandenburg in 983, he had not yet repudiated Hardike, but ſtill profeſſed himſelf a friend to Chriſtianity. Neither did he deſtroy the monaſtery in Mecklenburg, but ſuffered his daughter to reſide in that houſe, where ſhe continued till her father's deceaſe. It is therefore probable that this prince never was an apoſtate from Chriſtianity; but his depriving a biſhop of his tithes, and his daring to throw off the Saxon yoke, were ſufficient inducements for the writers of that nation to paint him in the moſt odious colours *.

THE expedition of Otho II. into Italy, afforded a very good opportunity to Billung to aſſert the independence of the Venedi. Otho had encountered great difficulties in the commencement of his reign, from which he extricated himſelf with ſingular abilities. He was afterwards engaged in a war againſt France, 980.

* Adam Brem. Helmold. M. Gebhardi.

about the ſuperiority of Lorrain, which he concluded to his ſatisfaction; and having ſettled the affairs of Germany, he undertook this year an expedition into Italy. His deſign was to chaſtiſe the Romans for attempting to revive the conſular power; and to recover Calabria and Apulia, which he had claimed as the dower of his wife Theophania. The Greeks, in order to preſerve thoſe provinces, entered into a league with the Saracens; and Otho, on the other hand, after reducing the Romans, marched his army into Calabria. In the beginning he had ſome ſucceſsful ſkirmiſhes, but coming to a deciſive engagement, he was entirely routed. This defeat was attributed to the deſertion of the Italians who ſerved in his army. The
981. battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Baventello, a ſmall town on the coaſt of Calabria. Otho finding no poſſibility of a retreat, ſtripped himſelf of his imperial habit, and flying to the ſea-ſhore, embarked in that diſguiſe on board a Greek veſſel. The ſhip was taken by corſairs and carried into Sicily, where he was purchaſed by a merchant, who dealt in ſlaves, and ranſomed by his wife the empreſs Theophania. Soon after this adventure he went to meet his reinforcements in Lombardy, and returning to Rome was ſeized with a dyſentery, which put an end to his life in 983, at the age of twenty-eight *.

Billung throws off the Imperial yoke.

BILLUNG, taking advantage of Otho's abſence in Italy, ſummoned the ſeveral tribes of the Venedi to a general aſſembly †, where reminding them of the many injuries received from the Saxons, and of the oppreſſive treatment of the imperial family, he excited them to take up arms for the recovery of their ancient independence. His repreſentations had a perſuaſive effect over the whole nation; they reſolved to wage war againſt the Saxons, and appointed him their general. It is the opinion of

* Barre, Pfeffel, Heiſſe.

† This is in ſome meaſure contrary to Adam and Helmoldus, who affirm that Billung durſt not ſtir thro' fear of duke Bernard; but Ditmar and the Saxon Annals poſitively mention the movements of the Saxons and Obotrites in Otho's abſence.

ſome

ſome writers, that Billung's power was increaſed at this time to ſuch a pitch, as to be poſſeſſed of the whole country between the Elbe and the Viſtula. But this muſt certainly be a miſtake, unleſs they mean only that he had the ſupreme juriſdiction, and that there were other ſubordinate princes, who may be conſidered as his vaſſals: for the Wilzi at that time had their own lords; the Redarii were alſo ſubject to a margrave; and the Rugians were under a regal government. Billung ſeems, therefore, to have poſſeſſed as yet in full ſovereignty no more than Wagria and the country of the Obotrites *.

No ſooner were the Venedic forces aſſembled, than they penetrated into Saxony, and committed extraordinary ravages in the biſhoprics of Brandenburg, Havelburg, and Merſeburg. The greateſt part of the nation having deſerted Chriſtianity, were the more ready to diſcharge their vengeance againſt the Saxon prieſts, to whoſe inſtigation they attributed all their hardſhips. The emperor having received intelligence of theſe hoſtilities, ordered the Saxons and Thuringians to make head againſt the Venedi, being prevented himſelf by the Italian war. Accordingly the Saxons and Thuringians aſſembled under ſeveral commanders †, among whom was Giſelarius biſhop of Magdeburg. The two armies met in the neighbourhood of Brandenburg, and ſoon came to a deciſive engagement. Billung muſt have been then advanced in years; and as the annaliſts do not mention him to have headed the army of the Venedi, it was in all probability commanded either by his ſon or by his grandſon. The troops on both ſides exerting themſelves with the greateſt intrepidity, the victory long continued dubious; but at length declared itſelf in favour of the Saxons. After a moſt obſtinate

982. The Venedi renounce Chriſtianity, and wage war againſt the Saxons.

983.

* Buckholtz.

† Buckholtz mentions Theodoric, margrave of Brandenburg, as commander in chief; but this muſt ſurely be a miſtake, for Hugh, that prince's father, was margrave till 1001. This Theodoric was diſpoſſeſſed of his dominions in 1020 (or 1013) by Miſtevoy II. the grandſon of Billung.

diſ-

diſpute the Venedi were obliged to retreat, with the loſs of thirty thouſand ſeven hundred men *.

THIS memorable battle affords an opportunity of making a few ſtrictures on the hiſtory of the Venedi. From the great number that fell on the ſide of the vanquiſhed, ſome writers would infer that Billung was poſſeſſed of the whole country between the Elbe and the Viſtula: for ſince he loſt, ſay they, thirty thouſand men in this engagement, that number could hardly exceed one half of his army; otherwiſe the Saxons would have eaſily over-run the whole country of the Obotrites; which was not however the conſequence of their victory. But ſuppoſing no more than half his army periſhed, the whole then conſiſted of ſixty thouſand, a much greater number than the Obotrites were able to bring into the field: and hence it is pretended, that the Saxon hiſtorians are inconſiſtent with themſelves, when they diſtinguiſh Billung only by the title of Regulus Obotritarum; ſince, according to their own accounts, he commanded a more numerous army than the dukes of Saxony, or any of the other German princes, could pretend to raiſe, even in their greateſt proſperity. But this argument, how ſpecious ſoever, is no way concluſive: for Billung might have been inveſted with the command of an allied army, conſiſting of the united force of the different tribes of the Venedi; and yet not have been poſſeſſed of the whole country from the Elbe to the Viſtula. By the accounts of Adam and Helmoldus, his territories ſeem to have been more confined, and probably extended no farther, as we have already obſerved, than Wagria and the country of the Obotrites. It muſt be acknowledged, however, that the dominions of his ſucceſſors were conſiderably enlarged; and we ſhall preſently have occaſion to obſerve, that his grandſon was poſſeſſed of the greateſt part of the territories abovementioned; but by what means this was effected, whether by the death or the expulſion of the other princes, hiſtory is ſilent.

* Ditmar. Annal. Sax. Krantz. Georg. Fabric.

THE

THE farther particulars of this war are not mentioned by the ancient annaliſts; neither does the loſs of the above battle ſeem to have been attended with any other bad conſequence to Billung, than that he was prevented from making himſelf maſter of the margraviate of Brandenburg. In all probability, the circumſtances of the emperor's affairs in Italy obliged the allies to ſend ſuccours to that prince, and prevented their reaping a proper advantage from ſo great a victory. It is alſo very likely that Billung was conſtrained to conclude a peace, the terms of which were not ſo unfavourable as he might otherwiſe have had reaſon to apprehend. Not long after this tranſaction, the emperor Otho died at Rome, as hath been already mentioned, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Otho III. an infant three years old *. Henry duke of Bavaria, and nephew to Otho I. aſſumed the government of the empire, during the minority of the young prince, and convened a diet at Quedlimburg, at which Billung, king of the Obotrites, together with the kings or dukes of Bohemia and Poland, aſſiſted. On this occaſion thoſe princes are ſaid to have promiſed to ſupport the emperor as their ſovereign lord. This, which we have from Saxon authors, if true, ſhews that thoſe princes yielded homage to the empire, and that Billung had concluded a peace with the Germans. From that period we find no farther notice of this prince in the ancient annals, neither do the records of his own family mention the year of his death: but in all probability this event happened in 989 †.

Peace concluded.

983.

Death of Billung.

BILLUNG, the undoubted patriarch of the following kings of the Obotrites, was twice married, firſt to Modea, a Poliſh princeſs, by whom, as we have already obſerved, he had three ſons, Miciſlaus II. who ſucceeded him, and Naco and Sederich,

His iſſue.

* Others ſay twelve; from his age he was ſurnamed the Infant.

† This is the opinion of Buckholtz, who ſeems to have treated this point with the greateſt exactneſs. M. Gebhardi ſays he muſt have departed this life before the year 983, for a reaſon which we ſhall ſhew hereafter to be ill founded.

princes

princes of the Obotrites. Naco eſpouſed a princeſs, whoſe name is not known, by whom he had a ſon, named Mizdrach, prince of the Obotrites, who left no iſſue. Sederich married a Thuringian lady, by whom he had a ſon alſo named Sederich, and in him this line ended *. Billung's ſecond wife was Hardike, ſiſter of Wago, biſhop of Aldenburg: by this lady he had two daughters; Judith, married to Otho, count of Stolberg; and Hodica, abbeſs of Mecklenburg, afterwards married to a Poliſh prince †.

* We have taken theſe marriages of the two princes from Chemnitz, but we do not find any authority for them in the ancient annaliſts.

† Adam Brem. Helmold. Krantz. Ditmar. Albert of Stade, Kirchberg, Latomus, Beehr, Kluver, Buckholtz.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Containing the reigns of Miciſlaus II. and Miſtevoy III. viz. from 989 to 1018.

Succeſſion of Miciſlaus II. Decline of Chriſtianity among the Venedi and the Danes. War between the Venedi of Julinum and Sweyn king of Denmark. War between Miciſlaus and the emperor Otho III. Affairs of the empire. War renewed between the Venedi and the Saxons. Death of Miciſlaus II. Miſtevoy III. ſucceeds to the crown. His education. Expedition of duke Bernard with the prince of the Obotrites into Italy. Miſtevoy's ſon, Udo, ill uſed by Bernard duke of Saxony. Miſtevoy renounces the Chriſtian religion, and perſecutes its followers. His repentance, and exile.

XIV. MICISLAUS II.

The Fourteenth KING of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES.

EMPEROR of GERMANY, OTHO III. 983.

KING of ENGLAND, ETHELRED II. 979.

Succeſſion of Miciſlaus II.

NO ſooner had Miciſlaus II. aſſumed the reins of government, than he gave public teſtimonies of the averſion he had long conceived againſt the Chriſtian religion. He began his reign with taking his ſiſter Hodica, probably with her own conſent, out of the monaſtery at Mecklenburg; and he afterwards married her to a perſon of great diſtinction, named Boleſlaus. The remainder of the nuns he either diſpoſed of in wedlock to the gentlemen of the country, or ſent among the Wilzi and the Rani; a ſtep which was ſoon followed by the diſſolution of the abbey. In this, indeed, he might have aimed at the reformation of the church, looking upon religious houſes as

nurſeries of idleneſs and ſuperſtition; but as he alſo deprived the clergy of their livings, he plainly indicated his enmity to that order of men, and a diſregard for the maintenance of religion. It is ridiculous to pretend * that his motive for this violence, was to ſubdue the pride and inſolence of the eccleſiaſtics. Helmoldus plainly declares, that he had an averſion to Chriſtianity, and the charge ſeems to be ſufficiently juſtified by the whole tenor of his government.

Decline of Chriſtianity among the Venedi and the Danes.

THE Chriſtian religion began now to decline, not only among the Venedi, but in other parts of the North, and particularly in the kingdom of Denmark. Sweyn, ſurnamed Split-beard †, had rebelled againſt his father Harold VI. an excellent prince, and a zealous promoter of Chriſtianity. Harold, after an obſtinate war with his own unnatural ſon, was ſlain in the diſpute (in 980), and Sweyn, without farther oppoſition ſucceeded to the crown. He began his reign with perſecuting Chriſtianity, to which the generality of his ſubjects ſeemed to bear as great an averſion as the Venedi; yet he had been baptized in his infancy, and taken the name of Sweyn Otho, out of reſpect to his god-father, Otho the Great. Animated with reſentment againſt the inhabitants of Julinum ‡, for aſſiſting his father ‖ in the late civil war, he reſolved to ſignalize his reign by the conqueſt of that city. Julinum was formerly one of the largeſt and moſt celebrated emporiums in Europe. It was ſituated in the iſle of Wollin, in Regal Pomerania, and is ſaid to have derived its name from a ſtatue of Julius Cæſar, which the Germans, ſurprized at the valour of that hero, erected to his honour. But this muſt be a fabulous etymology; for it is not

* Buckholtz ſeems to juſtify him upon this principle, but I think without foundation.

† This prince is famous in the Engliſh hiſtory: he was the father of Canute the Great. ‡ They were a tribe of the Venedi.

‖ His father having been defeated, and dangerouſly wounded in the laſt battle, fled to Julinum, where he was received with the uſual hoſpitality of the Venedi, and died not long after of his wounds. This was all the offence thoſe good people had given to the unnatural and barbarous Sweyn. Adam Brem. Helmold.

known

known that Julius Cæſar ever paſſed the Elbe. As the city was ſituated near the mouth of the Oder, it became one of the greateſt ſtaples of the North, and was conſiderably increaſed by the ruin of Wineta*, another emporium of the Venedi. The ſtrength and riches of Julinum appear from the gallant defence it made againſt ſo powerful a prince as the king of Denmark. After ſeveral revolutions, it received its fate from that crown in 1170, when it was totally deſtroyed by king Waldemar. It had ever adhered to the Pagan rites, which were celebrated there with great pomp and ſolemnity. The inhabitants were remarkable for the ſincerity of their behaviour, and their kindneſs to ſtrangers. Some time after, out of the ruins of this city, roſe the preſent town of Wollin, capital of the iſland of that name†.

War between the Venedi of Julinum and Swen king of Denmark.

THESE were the people whom Sweyn attempted to puniſh, for the hoſpitality ſhewn to his father. Having equipped a conſiderable fleet, he landed his army in the neighbourhood of the town, of which he ſoon expected to make himſelf maſter. But he found himſelf greatly diſappointed. Three different battles were fought; and the inhabitants of Julinum were each time victorious. The king had the misfortune of being taken priſoner in the laſt engagement, and was obliged to pay a prodigious ranſom, no leſs than twice his own weight, when full armed, of pure gold. The ranſom was ſettled at three payments; but the treaſury being exhauſted, and the country oppreſſed with taxes, the ladies were ſo generous as to ſell their jewels, in order to make the laſt payment. Upon his return to Denmark, Sweyn enacted ſome laws in favour of the fair ſex, and took care to redeem their jewels. In the ſequel of this hiſtory, we ſhall behold the example of the Daniſh ladies imitated by thoſe of Mecklenburg, who diſplayed the ſame generoſity in favour of their unfortunate ſovereign, Albert king of Sweden.

* This was alſo a place of great trade, ſituate in the country of Uſedom, within two leagues of Wolgaſt, near the mouth of the Peine. The greateſt part of the town was deſtroyed in 796, by a civil war among the inhabitants; the remainder was ſwallowed up ſome time after by an inundation, together with a conſiderable part of the country. Helmold. Krantz.

† Helmold. Krantz. Frank.

SUCH was the ill ſucceſs of Sweyn againſt the inhabitants of Julinum, whoſe vigorous ſtand in defence of their liberties, is worthy of being preſerved from oblivion. With the ſame valour, though not always with the ſame ſucceſs, did the Obotrites under king Miciſlaus defend themſelves againſt the Saxons*, who had quarrelled with that prince for his attempting to perſecute
989. the Chriſtian religion. The very firſt year of his reign they made
990. two irruptions into his territory, and after committing great ravages, according to the barbarous cuſtom of thoſe days, returned triumphant to their own country †.

IN order to be revenged of thoſe inſults, Miciſlaus formed
994. a confederacy of all the Venedi ‡, who determined to throw off the imperial yoke, and to aſſert their liberties with the
995. utmoſt vigour ‖. The emperor Otho III. hearing of thoſe
War between Miciſlaus and Otho III. preparations, reſolved to march in perſon againſt the Venedi, and to put a ſtop to their incurſions. This prince had ſtruggled with great difficulties in his minority, but ſurmounted them all, and afterwards waged war with the Danes, in which he was particularly ſucceſsful. He had likewiſe concluded a treaty of alliance with Sweden, and obtained ſome articles of that nation in favour of Chriſtianity. His zeal now prompted him to avenge the cauſe of religion. For this purpoſe he aſſembled a formidable army, and was joined by Boleſlaus §, king of Poland, a zealous aſſertor of Chriſtianity. The combined army, under the command of the emperor in perſon, penetrated into the territories of the Obotrites and the Wolatabi, where they laid waſte the country and deſtroyed ſeveral towns, but did not obtain any ſignal advantage in the field. On the contrary, it ſeems as if this prince had met with a check; for, according to the account of the Saxon annaliſts, after he had received a re-

* Helmoldus is miſtaken when he ſays that things were quiet among the Venedi under Miciſlaus; but he is contradicted, as Gebhardi obſerves, by the Annal. Qued. Hildeſh. and Annal. Sax. which ſet the matter beyond all doubt.

† Annal. Hildeſh. and Saxo. ‡ Except the Sorabi. ‖ Chron. Quedl.

§ The Chron. Quedlimb. ſays by Miſico ſon of Boleſlaus, as likewiſe by a body of Bohemians under the command of the ſon of another Boleſlaus.

inforce-

inforcement of Bohemians under another prince Boleſlaus, all he performed was to bring his army back ſafe to Saxony *.

996. Affairs of the empire.

THE war was ſtill carried on, and inroads were made, the next year, with alternate ſucceſs, into the territories of the Obotrites and the Saxons. Theſe hoſtilities laſted the remainder of Miciſlaus's reign, with only one year's interval of peace, as we are informed by the ancient annaliſts †. Who commanded the Imperial or Saxon army, we are not told; but it could be no longer the emperor himſelf, the rebellion of Creſcentius having called that prince, this ſame year, into Italy. Creſcentius was a wealthy citizen of Rome, who aimed at ſubverting the pontifical authority. Otho, at the pope's requeſt, marched into Italy, made himſelf maſter of Rome, ſettled the diſturbances of that city, and cauſed Creſcentius, the author of thoſe troubles, to be hanged. Otho having ſettled affairs in Rome, and made ſeveral regulations in eccleſiaſtical and civil affairs, returned to Germany.

999. War between the Venedi and the Saxons renewed.

AT this very juncture, the whole nation of the Venedi, from the Elbe to the Viſtula, were up in arms, under the command of Miciſlaus. The emperor, for what reaſon I do not find, directed his march againſt the Hevelli, while the Wolatabi (or Luticii) laid waſte the province of Bardengow, in the dutchy of Lunenburg: but the Weſtphali, whom he left to guard that province, aſſembling in a body, fell upon the Venedi, and entirely defeated their army ‡. Whether the Obotrites were concerned in this irruption into Lunenburg, is not mentioned by ancient writers, neither do I find any notice taken (on this occaſion) of king Miciſlaus, whom ſome modern authors, without any foundation, pretend to have been preſent at the defeat. Be that as it may, he died this ſame year after a ſhort reign, and with the character of an apoſtate and deſerter from the Chriſtian religion. His brothers, Siderich and Naco, were provided with principalities under him; but as they left no poſterity, their line was ſoon extinct. Miciſlaus is ſaid to

Death of Miciſlaus.

* Chron. Quedlimb. annal. Hildes. Annal. Sax. † Chronograph. Sax.
‡ Annal. Sax.

have

have married an Hungarian princeſs named Sophia, by whom he had four children, 1. Miſtevoy III. who ſucceeded him as king of the Venedi and Obotrites. 2. Giſela, married firſt to Bruno, margrave of Saxony; ſecondly, to Erneſt of Swabia; and thirdly, to the emperor Conrad II. 3. Miſdrach, prince of the Venedi and Obotrites. 4. Grim, prince of Rugen. Miciſlaus is alſo ſuppoſed to have had another daughter, named Eſtritta the Obotrite, mentioned by Adam of Bremen, who takes notice that Olaus, king of Sweden, married a daughter of a prince of the Obotrites, by whom he had a ſon named James, and a daughter Ingerdis, married to Gerzleff *, or Jaroſlaus, king of Ruſſia. The Olaus abovementioned was ſurnamed Skottkonung; he aſcended the throne of Sweden in 993, according to Snorro: he muſt have married his daughter Ingerdis to Jaroſlaus at leaſt in 1018, becauſe we find by Theodoſius Kiowienſis that ſhe was brought to bed of her firſt ſon in 1019: ſuppoſing Ingerdis to have been born in 1000, her mother Eſtritta probably was born in 982.

Account of the princes of Rugen.

WITH regard to Miſtevoy's brothers, we are to obſerve, that the moſt probable opinion † makes Grim, or Grines, the founder or ſtock of the princes of Rugen, who afterwards made ſo great a figure, that we cannot avoid giving a more particular account of their hiſtory. Their dominion was confined at firſt to the iſle of Rugen and a part of Anterior Pomerania; but in the proſecution of their conqueſts they extended their territories as far as Holſtein. The firſt Rugian prince of this line was the aboveſaid Grim, a ſon of king Miciſlaus; he does not appear to have been any way conſpicuous during the life of Miſtevoy or of his ſons, yet he probably gave his name to Grim in Pomerania. His ſon Crito, or Cruco, or Druco, (for he is named thus differently by different writers) was the reigning prince of Rugen, when Godeſcalcus ſat on the throne of the Venedi. But of this Cruco we ſhall have occaſion to treat more amply hereafter. Here we ſhall only obſerve, that he is ſaid to

* Adam Brem. Albert of Stade. Helmold. Krantz, Kirchberg, Beehr, Kluver.
† Spener, Hubner, Kluver.

have

have built the city of Lubeck, to have been a violent perſecutor of Chriſtianity, and lived to the year 1105. His ſon Ratzo, or Race, waged war againſt the royal family of the Venedi, and againſt the Saxons, and built the caſtle or fortreſs of Ratzeburg *; but he could extend his juriſdiction no farther than Rugen, and breathed his laſt in the year 1141. Jaromar I. his ſon and ſucceſſor, embraced the Chriſtian religion, and permitted the idol Swantewit to be deſtroyed: but he was unlucky in waging war againſt the Danes, as Arcona, the capital of the iſland, was deſtroyed during his reign in 1168. He lived alſo to ſee the ſubverſion of the Venedic kingdom. He had two brothers, Tetzlaw and Stoiſlaw, the laſt of whom was founder of the counts and lords of Putbus †. But Tetzlaw, the other brother, whom ſome authors alſo call the Elder, and king of Rugen, was a bitter enemy to Chriſtianity and the Danes. After his deceaſe in 1212, his ſon Wiſlaw I. aſſumed the government, and in the year 1230 built the city of Stralſund out of the ruins of Arcona; though Krantzius affirms it to have been founded by Jaromar in 1209: perhaps he finiſhed what his father had only begun. Wiſlaw died in 1241, after he had ſignalized himſelf by his expeditions into Livonia, for the propagation of the Chriſtian religion, and tranſmitted his principality to his ſon Jaromar II. who carried on a ſucceſsful war againſt the Danes, built Damgarten, and departed this life in 1282. His ſon, or brother, Wiſlaw II. threw off the Daniſh yoke, and put himſelf under the protection of the empire. This prince was ſucceeded by his ſon Wiſlaw III. in 1303, and with him this line was extinct in 1325. His dominions fell to the Pomeranian dukes of Wratiſlaw and Wolgaſt, who kept poſſeſſion of the principality of Rugen, and tranſmitted it to their ſucceſſors, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition of the Danes and Mecklenburghers. In the ſequel of this work we ſhall have

* The town of that name is of a more ancient ſtanding, and was formerly a biſhop's ſee.

† The reader is deſired to attend to this branch of the counts of Putbus: we may have occaſion to remind him of it hereafter, upon a very important affair.

fre-

frequent occaſion to mention theſe princes; and ſince they ſprung from the ſame ſtock as the royal branch of the Obotrites, the reader, we hope, will not be diſpleaſed at ſeeing a connected account of their ſucceſſion *. We now reſume the thread of our hiſtory.

XV. MISTEVOY III.

The Fifteenth KING of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES.

EMPERORS of GERMANY,

OTHO III. 983. HENRY II. 1002. CONRAD II. 1024.

KINGS of ENGLAND,

ETHELRED II. 979. EDMUND IRONSIDE, 1016. CANUTE I. 1017.

999. Miſtevoy III. ſucceeds to the crown.

UPON the deceaſe of Miciſlaus II. his eldeſt ſon, Miſtevoy III. aſcended the throne of his anceſtors, and raiſed the Venedic kingdom to a very high pitch of power and grandeur. Hiſtory repreſents him as one of the moſt warlike princes that ever wielded the ſceptre of the Obotrites; and he is particularly celebrated for his exploits againſt the Saxons, who diſtinguiſhed him by the title of Fortiſſimus Gigas. He had been educated at the court of Bernard I. duke of Saxony, of whom he learned the art of war, in which he greatly excelled all the generals of his age. Duke Bernard was a prince of extraordinary abilities, and much commended by the eccleſiaſtic writers of thoſe times as a ſtrenuous defender of the church. Miſtevoy had been trained up in the principles of Chriſtianity under his grandfather Billung, and profeſſed that religion for ſome time after his acceſſion to the crown. He likewiſe lived a ſhort while in friendſhip and alliance with the Saxons, acknowledging the obligations he had received from duke Bernard.

His education.

* Krantz. Spener. Hubner. Schwartzen fines Rugiæ.

THIS

THIS appeared by his conduct towards the Saxons, ſoon after the election of Henry II. to the Imperial dignity. Otho III. having returned to Italy in 1001, in order to ſtop the progreſs of the Saracens, who had committed great ravages in the kingdom of Naples, was poiſoned by his miſtreſs, the widow of the conſul Creſcentius, in revenge for his refuſing to marry her according to his promiſe, and for the indignities done to her huſband *. He reſigned his laſt breath, in the thirtieth year of his age, at Paterno in the neighbourhood of Rome, having been expelled from this laſt city by a popular inſurrection. After his death without iſſue, the Imperial dignity was conferred on Henry II. duke of Bavaria, great-grandſon of Henry the Fowler. This prince met with ſome oppoſition, in the beginning of his reign, from two competitors, Herman duke of Swabia, and Eckart margrave of Miſnia, who was ſupported by Bernard duke of Saxony. Herman, on the other hand, was up in arms in Swabia, and threatened the depoſition of the new emperor. During theſe commotions, Miſtevoy eſpouſed the cauſe of Bernard duke of Saxony, and is ſaid to have fought in conjunction with that prince againſt Henry II. but the particulars do not occur in ancient writers. This we know, that Henry aſſembled a numerous army, and, by his great vigilance and activity, obliged his competitor Herman to ſubmit. He marched ſoon after into Saxony, and held an aſſembly, where he compelled duke Bernard, the archbiſhop of Magdeburg, the count palatine, and even Boleſlaus king of Poland, with the different tribes of the Venedi, to acknowledge him as emperor. The Venedic princes were not preſent, but ſent their deputies to the aſſembly. Duke Bernard in perſon took the oath of allegiance to Henry.

Affairs of the empire.

1001.

1002.

1003.

AFFAIRS being thus ſettled in Germany, Henry undertook an expedition into Italy againſt Ardouin marquis of Ivrea, who had

1005.

* This prince is ſaid to have made the famous decree importing, that the Roman empire and kingdom of Italy ſhould thenceforwards be annexed to the crown of Germany; but the genuineneſs thereof is ſuſpected. The other decree imputed to him, limiting the number of electors to ſeven, is certainly ſpurious.

Expedition of D. Bernard with the prince of the Obotrites into Italy.

uſurped the title of king of Italy upon the death of Otho III. Bernard duke of Saxony having having thought proper to attend the emperor on this expedition, was joined by a ſon of Miſtevoy, named Udo, with a thouſand horſe, who all periſhed (except the prince himſelf) in Italy *. Frank ſays that Miſtevoy,

* This expedition of duke Bernard and of Miſtevoy, or the ſon of Miſtevoy, for it is differently related, meets with great difficulty in regard to the time in which it was performed. Gebhardi throws it back ſo far as the year 982, and therefore ſuppoſes it to have happened under Otho II. the very year when that emperor undertook his laſt expedition to Italy, and received the memorable defeat from the Greeks and Saracens. His reaſon is, that, according to Adam of Bremen, Theodoric was margrave of Brandenburg at the time when Miſtevoy ſent his ſon into Italy; and this ſame Theodoric was expelled from his margraviate by Miſtevoy in 983, and led afterwards a retired life at Magdeburg. This Theodoric is the perſon whoſe abuſive language was the cauſe of breaking off the match with the princeſs of Saxony, and of the war that afterwards enſued between the Venedi and the Saxons. If M. Gebhardi could prove that Theodoric was really depoſed in 983, his fixing the expedition to that year would meet with no oppoſition; but I can ſee no authority, except his own, for that opinion. On the contrary, we find that Hugh marquis of Brandenburg was ſent by the emperor Otho III. into Italy in 990 to command an army in that country: this Hugh died about the year 1001, and was ſucceeded by his nephew Sicard or Sigard, who left a ſon, Theodoric, the very prince in queſtion, and the great enemy of the Venedi. Thus it is impoſſible that Theodoric could have been depoſed in 983, and therefore the expedition of Duke Bernard muſt have been of a later date than 982. I have followed Buckholtz, who fixes it under the reign of Henry II. but does not mention what year. I have alſo ventured to place it in 1005, becauſe that was the year in which the above-mentioned emperor undertook his firſt expedition into Italy. His ſecond expedition was in 1013, the year after the general defection of the Venedi, and the quarrel in conſequence of the contumelious behaviour of the margrave Theodoric. Helmoldus however ſays, that the prince of the Obotrites accompanied Duke Bernard, and not the emperor, with a thouſand horſe, and that theſe were almoſt all ſlain. Now it does not appear that the emperor ſuffered any great loſs in that expedition in 1005; but we find that in 1003 Henry ſent a body of troops into Italy under Otho duke of Carinthia, and that moſt of thoſe troops were cut to pieces by Ardouin in the mountains of Tirol. Very probably Duke Bernard was one of thoſe who joined in that expedition, and was attended by the young prince of the Obotrites with a thouſand horſe; and the circumſtance of their total defeat ſeems to confirm the conjecture.

We have given an account of the courtſhip of the Saxon princeſs, and of the quarrel occaſioned by the margrave Theodoric, as we found it in Adam of Bremen. Helmoldus relates it ſomewhat differently, and ſays that Miſtevoy courted the young princeſs

voy, and not his ſon, attended the duke in this expedition; and he places it in the year 1013. Miſtevoy's motive in ſending ſuch a body of cavalry into Italy, was to ingratiate himſelf with duke Bernard, and to obtain his conſent to a match between his niece Matilda and Udo prince of the Obotrites, who was deeply in love with that princeſs. The emperor paſſed the Alps, and after obliging Ardouin to retire, was crowned at Pavia. Having quelled a dangerous inſurrection in that city, and eſtabliſhed the peace of Italy, he returned with the other princes to Germany.

Miſtevoy's ſon Udo ill uſed by the D. of Saxony.

SUCH was the ſituation of affairs between the Saxons and the Venedi, when Miſtevoy ordered his ſon to apply to duke Bernard for his conſent to the marriage, which he is ſaid to have promiſed before the late expedition. The behaviour of the Saxon court on this occaſion was very extraordinary, and ſtrongly ſhews the great antipathy between the two nations. Although the duke of Saxony was of a much inferior family in every reſpect to that of the ſovereign of the Obotrites, yet he made a difficulty of conſenting to a match between his niece and a prince of that nation. Religion was perhaps the main objection; the Saxons looking on the Venedi as no friends to Chriſtianity. Hence aroſe the reluctancy which biſhop Wago ſhewed in marrying his ſiſter to king Billung. But the duke was alſo prevented from performing this promiſe by Theodoric margrave of Brandenburg,

princeſs for himſelf, and was the perſon that attended Duke Bernard into Italy with a thouſand horſe; but Adam being the moſt ancient writer, ſeems moſt deſerving of credit. Another circumſtance corroborating Adam's relation is, that Miſtevoy was pretty well ſtricken in years at this time (105 or 103) and had ſons grown up, ſo that it is more likely he demanded the princeſs of Saxony for one of his ſons than for himſelf. However, we muſt ſubmit the whole to the judgment of the reader; only obſerving that the ſtory is undoubtedly true, and all the difference between the hiſtorians is in regard to ſome circumſtances, and the point of chronology. It is not clear whether the princeſs Matilda was the niece of duke Bernard I. who died in 1010, or of his ſon duke Bernard II. who breathed his laſt in 1061; but moſt probably the latter is the prince meant by Adam and Helmoldus. And though he was not ſovereign of Saxony in 1005 or 1003, at the time of the expedition, his father being then living, yet he might ſtill be called duke Bernard by hiſtorians who related this affair long after he became duke of Saxony.

who had the inſolence to drop this ſhocking expreſſion in the preſence of Udo, That it was improper to give the duke's niece to a dog. This indelicacy of language ſtrongly characterizes the manners of thoſe days; and its fatal conſequence ſhews the propriety of civil behaviour, even among enemies. So brutal a ſpeech gave great offence to prince Udo, who immediately retired from the court of Saxony, and related the whole tranſaction to his father. But duke Bernard taking the matter into a more ſerious conſideration, found himſelf in an error; and expreſſing great concern for the indecency of his conduct, diſpatched an officer to the king of the Obotrites, acquainting that prince with his reſolution to perform his promiſe. But he ſoon found, to his great concern, how much eaſier it is to commit than to repair an injury. Miſtevoy highly offended at the indignity ſhewn to his ſon, returned for anſwer to the Saxon envoy, that the niece of ſo powerful a prince as duke Bernard ought to be joined in wedlock to a perſon of the greateſt eminence, and not to ſo contemptible an animal as a dog. "But (continued he) if that be all the re-
"turn for our faithful ſervices to the Saxons, we ſhall convince
"the duke at leaſt that we are dogs of ſpirit, and can ſhew our
"teeth to our enemies *."

Miſtevoy renounces Chriſtianity;

MISTEVOY having given this ſpirited anſwer, ſummoned an aſſembly of the princes of the Venedi at Rhetre, and acquainted them with the ungrateful treatment of duke Bernard. The recital of this indignity excited the reſentment of the whole aſſembly, who addreſſed their king to declare war againſt duke Bernard and the margrave Theodoric, in revenge for ſo great an affront; promiſing to ſtand by him with their lives and fortunes *. They farther obſerved to him, that the Saxons had been ever noted for their treachery and avarice; that he was greatly to blame for placing any confidence in that nation; and therefore they adviſed him to break off all connexion with duke Bernard. This was ſounding the ſignal of war; yet Miſtevoy

* Helm. Ad.

† This ſeems to confirm what we have mentioned, p. 152, concerning the government of the Venedi.

took

took ſome time to prepare for an event of that importance. He raiſed troops with great privacy and circumſpection, and uſed the utmoſt diligence in training them to military diſcipline.

In the mean time Bernard I. duke of Saxony departed this life, 1110.
and was ſucceeded by his ſon Bernard II. The former, as we have already obſerved, is very much commended by the eccleſiaſtical writers of thoſe times for his piety and religion; and his ſon is as much decried for his vices, eſpecially for oppreſſing the Venedi on the frontiers, and for his diſpoſition to rebel againſt the emperor Henry II. This prince, ſince his return from Italy, had been engaged in war, either with Baldwin earl of Flanders, or with Boleſlaus king of Poland, which had intirely diverted his attention from the affairs of Germany. Fatigued with theſe troubles, he had thoughts of embracing a monkiſh life; but was prevailed on at length by the princes of the empire to alter his ſentiments. So fa- 1012.
vourable an opportunity Miſtevoy did not think proper to neglect; but reſolved to attack the Saxons with all his forces, while the emperor was diſtracted in his affairs, and the new duke of Saxony was ſcarce ſettled in the adminiſtration. In order to ingratiate himſelf with his ſubjects, and to ſhew a greater averſion to the Saxons, who by their tyranny and oppreſſion had incurred the hatred of the Venedi in general; he began with openly renouncing the Chriſtian religion. For Bernard duke of Saxony, unmindful of his father's good behaviour and friendſhip towards the inhabitants of the frontiers of Vandalia, and ſtrongly actuated by the ſpirit of avarice, had treated thoſe people with the utmoſt cruelty, which rendered them the more eager to throw off the yoke, and to renounce the religion of their oppreſſors. It ſeems too that Chriſtianity was uſed as an inſtrument to rivet the minds of theſe people in a ſtate of ſubjection; and therefore whenever they attempted to aſſert their independency, they relapſed at the ſame time to their ancient worſhip. In conſequence of this ſudden change the churches throughout the country were plundered and burned, the prieſts baniſhed or put to death, and not the leaſt veſtige of Chriſtianity remained on the other ſide of the Elbe. Thus the Chriſtian religion was utterly extirpated among the

Obotrites,

Obotrites, after it had been publickly tolerated in that country for above ſeventy years, ever ſince 932, and the converſion of Miciſlaus.

1012. and perſecutes its followers.

MISTEVOY having aſſembled his forces, made an irruption into Nordalbingia, or Saxony beyond the Elbe, laying waſte the whole country with fire and ſword. But the fury of the incenſed Venedi fell chiefly on the city of Hamburg, which, attempting to make ſome reſiſtance, was burned down to the ground. At Aldenburg, Wolkwald, biſhop of that city, was obliged to ſave himſelf by flight, and ſixty prieſts, after undergoing the moſt cruel tortures, were put to death. And indeed, if we may believe Helmoldus, a whole volume would not contain the names of all thoſe who ſuffered martyrdom among the Venedi and Nordalbingi for profeſſing the Chriſtian religion. From Hamburg Miſtevoy directed his march to the town of Calbe in the principality of Anhalt, where he ſet fire to the monaſtery of St. Lawrence, and drove the inhabitants quite out of the town *. Then proceeding with his victorious army into the country of Brandenburg, he wreaked his vengeance on the margrave Theodoric, who, by his inſolent language to Miſtevoy's ſon, had occaſioned this dreadful ſcene of ſlaughter and confuſion. Theodoric being obliged to ſave himſelf by flight, retired to Magdeburg, where he became a prebendary of that cathedral, and ended his days in obſcurity. He is repreſented by Helmoldus as a cruel and avaricious prince, and was the laſt margrave of that line. The cities of Brandenburg and Havelberg met with the ſame fate as Hamburg, being ſet on fire and levelled with the ground. In ſhort the Venedic monarch carried every thing before him like a torrent; and the ardor of his troops being excited by their averſion to the enemy's religion, the whole country was filled with deſolation and terror.

1013. THE progreſs of the Venedic arms met with no interruption from the emperor Henry II. whoſe preſence had been again required in Italy, in order to repreſs the inſolence of Ardouin

* Ditmar. Annal. Saxo. Adam. Helmoldus.

marquis

marquis of Ivrea. This prince having reaſſumed the ſupreme authority in that country, Henry committed the care of the Venedic war to the diet of Grunningen, and marching an army into Italy, defeated Ardouin on the frontiers of the Veroneſe. From thence he advanced to Rome with his victorious bands, and was crowned in that capital, with his conſort Cunegunda, by pope Benedict VIII. During theſe tranſactions, Miſtevoy had compleated his deſign, and fully ſatiated his revenge againſt the margrave of Brandenburg. The power of the Venedic arms was now riſen to ſo high a pitch as to ſtrike a terror into the whole empire. This was much increaſed by the inteſtine diviſions of Germany: for Bernard duke of Saxony had ever ſhewn an averſion to the emperor, and at length excited the Saxons to a revolt. Theſe internal diſturbances were a great encouragement to Miſtevoy to continue his incurſions, and to haraſs the frontier provinces of the empire. 1014.

HENRY II. was now returned to Germany, but could not direct his attention to the affairs of Saxony, being obliged to enter into a new war with Boleſlaus king of Poland; which was continued for ſome time with various ſucceſs, and terminated at length by a treaty at Bautzen. Not long after the ratification of this treaty, he marched an army into Lower Saxony againſt duke Bernard, who ſtill continued in open rebellion, and infeſted the neighbouring countries with his exactions. Bernard finding himſelf unable to contend with the united forces of the empire, thought proper to ſubmit; and by the mediation of Unwanus, who ſucceeded Libentius in 1013 in the ſee of Hamburg, a reconciliation was procured between the two princes. The interview was at Schalchiſburg, where Bernard yielded homage to Henry II. and gave ſureties for his good conduct. One condition of this prince's pardon ſeems to have been his waging war againſt the Venedi, among whom a great revolution had lately enſued, in conſequence of Miſtevoy's being reconciled to the Chriſtian religion. 1014. 1015. 1016. 1017. 1018.

MISTEVOY having glutted his revenge againſt the margrave of Brandenburg, began in his cooler hours to reflect on the ravages 1018. His repentance.

vages he had committed, and on his imprudence and levity in renouncing Chriſtianity. It is probable that the ſeeds of this religion having been early implanted in his mind, began to ſhoot up again, and were not to be eaſily eradicated. The writers of thoſe times were ſo credulous as to impute his converſion to the apparition of a golden hand, which is ſaid to have come down from heaven into Hamburg at the burning of that city, and to have made ſuch an impreſſion on his mind, as ever after filled him with terror. Ditmar, who mentions this legend with great gravity, ſays he had it from Avico, who had been Miſtevoy's chaplain. He affirms, moreover, that Miſtevoy afterwards being ſeized with a ſudden madneſs, was obliged to be confined, and died in great miſery. It is very extraordinary, indeed, that after ſuch an apparition, this prince ſhould ſtill continue, for ſome years, to perſecute the Chriſtians, and not to be frightened into an immediate repentance. But from whatever cauſe or motive this change might ariſe, it is very certain that he reſolved to reconcile himſelf to Chriſtianity. In this diſpoſition the firſt thing he did was to recal the prieſts, whom he had driven into exile, and to rebuild the churches and monaſteries which he had deſtroyed. But his repentance came too late; both his ſubjects and his very ſons oppoſed his introducing Chriſtianity a ſecond time, or making any other innovations in favour of that religion. Hence it ſeems probable, as we have more than once obſerved, that the goſpel had never been well ſettled among the Venedi, and that their converſion had been rather a political than religious meaſure. The conduct of Miſtevoy on this occaſion contributed to alienate the minds of his ſubjects, and produced a revolution, which terminated in his expulſion. This is one of the many
1018. inſtances in hiſtory of the mutual jealouſy and diſtruſt between princes and their ſubjects, when they happen to be of a different religion. The Luticii conſpiring againſt the king, on the account of his intent to reſtore Chriſtianity, aſſembled in a large body, and laid waſte great part of the country of the Obotrites. Miſtevoy * was obliged to ſave himſelf

* Ditmar, from whom we have this account, calls him Miciſlaus by miſtake.

by

by flight, together with his wife and daughter-in-law, and to ſhut himſelf up in Schwerin with a few choſen troops. The Luticii ſtirring up the inhabitants to rebel againſt their ſovereign, drove him quite out of the country, and obliged him to quit his paternal inheritance. Then the churches that had been rebuilt in thoſe parts in honour of Chriſt were once more burned and deſtroyed. Ditmar the hiſtorian paints this havock and devaſtation in the higheſt colours. "The image of Chriſt was "trampled under foot, and the worſhip of idols preferred to "that of the Lord. The minds of the Obotrites and the "Wagrii were hardened like Pharaoh's heart: they called out "aloud for liberty like the Luticii, and, by a fatal deception, "withdrew their necks from the ſweet yoke of Chriſt, to ſub-"mit themſelves to the heavy bondage of Satan." Intelligence of theſe violences was given to the emperor by Bernard biſhop of Aldenburg, who received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that proper meaſures would be taken to obtain ſatisfaction of the Venedi, and to avenge the cauſe of Chriſtianity. The exiled prince retired to Bardewick, a city of Lower Saxony, where he ſpent the remainder of his days in acts of penance, to atone for the injury he had done to religion *.

* Ditmar, Adam, Helmold.

CHAP. VI.

Containing the reigns of Andrach and Udo, kings of the Venedi, from 1018 to 1032.

The Venedi attacked by Bernard duke of Saxony. Affairs of the church among the Obotrites. Diet of Verbene. Affairs of the empire. Death and iſſue of Miſtevoy III. Death of Andrach. Udo his brother ſucceeds to the crown. His education and religion. He is aſſaſſinated by a Saxon.

XVI. ANDRACH,

The Sixteenth KING of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES.

EMPERORS of GERMANY,

HENRY II. 1002. CONRAD II. 1024.

KINGS of ENGLAND,

EDMUND IRONSIDE, 1016. CANUTE I. 1017.

THE throne being declared vacant, upon the expulſion or abdication of Miſtevoy, Andrach, his eldeſt ſon, was proclaimed king of the Obotrites. In the mean time, Bernard duke of Saxony, confiding in the diviſions which ſubſiſted among the Venedi, had, in conſequence of an order from the emperor, made great preparations for ſubduing thoſe people, and vindicating the cauſe of the Chriſtian religion. He had been joined by troops from different quarters of the empire, with which he formed a conſiderable army, and directed his march into the country of Vandalia. The Venedi at that time were but ill prepared for ſuch an incurſion; their forces were vaſtly inferior in number to the Imperialiſts and Saxons; their warlike king Miſtevoy was no longer at the head of their army, and his ſon

The Venedi attacked by Bernard D. of Saxony.

Andrach

Andrach was too young and unexperienced to contend with the duke of Saxony. Finding themſelves therefore unable to avert the impending ſtorm, they were obliged to enter into a negociation; and, upon promiſing once more to embrace Chriſtianity, and to reſtore the affairs of religion to their former footing, a treaty of peace was ſoon concluded. The principal difficulty was the reſtitution of the eſtates belonging to the church, which had been alienated into other hands, and could not be eaſily recovered from the preſent poſſeſſors. Benno biſhop of Aldenburg uſed his utmoſt endeavours to recover the lands aſſigned to the maintenance of that ſee in the reign of Otho the Great; but finding himſelf diſappointed, and that the Venedi abſolutely refuſed to contribute any thing towards the ſupport of the clergy, he made his application to Bernard duke of Saxony, deſiring redreſs and relief. The duke thought it adviſeable to have a conference with the ſeveral princes of the Venedi, in order to ſee whether this difference could not be amicably adjuſted. On this occaſion no mention is made of king Andrach; it is probable, however, that a general aſſembly was held, at which were preſent the different princes of the whole nation. The power of the clergy depending greatly on their property, the reſtitution of the latter was ſtrongly inſiſted upon; but it was irrecoverably loſt, and the nation was no longer diſpoſed either to reſtore the plunder they had taken from the church, or to make any new donations. The princes alleged in excuſe, that they laboured under very great hardſhips, their eſtates being almoſt ruined by war and oppreſſion: that their ſubjects were extremely poor, and unable to bear any heavy burden, ſuch as providing for the maintenance of prieſts, and eſpecially for the dignity and parade of mitred prelates: that they were fully determined to ſuffer any extremity, even to abandon their country and eſtates, rather than ſubmit to ſo tyrannical an oppreſſion. The duke finding it impoſſible to make them reſtore the ancient revenues of the church, prevailed on them, however, to promiſe they would make every

Affairs of the church.

houſe contribute ſome ſmall matter * towards the ſupport of the biſhop. The two farms of Buzow and Necenna were alſo reſtored; but there was no poſſibility of recovering the more diſtant farms, Derithſewe, Motize, and Cuzin †.

1022. Diet of Verbene. THE emperor Henry II. had undertaken a ſecond expedition into Italy, to oppoſe the Greeks and Saracens, and to ſupport pope Benedict VIII. in both which attempts he met with ſucceſs. Upon his return to Germany the next year, as he had the intereſt of Chriſtianity greatly at heart, he reſolved to try what

1023. effect a viſit from himſelf in perſon would have with the Venedi towards promoting the cauſe of the Chriſtian religion. With this view he held a diet at Verbene, a town on the Elbe, where the ſeveral princes of the Venedi were ſummoned to attend. In all probability he had an army at hand to enforce his commands, though this circumſtance is not mentioned by our hiſtorians. The Venedic princes were ſaid to have been made ſenſible of the ill conſequences of quarrelling with the German empire, and to have promiſed they would hereafter behave with more ſubmiſſion. Bernard biſhop of Aldenburg aſſiſted at this aſſembly, where he maintained the intereſts of his ſee in the ſtrongeſt manner; and after warm debates, the Venedic princes engaged, at the emperor's recommendation, to give ſatisfaction on the article of religion, and to reſtore the poſſeſſions of which the church had been plundered ‡. Here were preſent the princes of the Obotrites, of the Kiſſini, the Polabi, and other tribes of the Venedi.

1023. BUT theſe promiſes, if ſincere, were defeated by the avarice and extortion of Bernard duke of Saxony, who was appointed governor of the frontier provinces. This prince laid ſuch heavy impoſitions on the Venedi ſubject to his juriſdiction ‖, as alienated the minds of the whole nation, both from the Saxon government, and from the Chriſtian religion. This we find to

* Adam and Helmoldus ſay, duo nummi.

† Adam. Helmold. ‡ Helmold.

‖ Theſe were the people of Wagria, whom he had either ſubdued, or gained a ſuperiority over by compact (quos e vicino poſitos bellis ſive pactionibus ſubegerat.)

have

have been ever the conduct of the Venedi, to deteſt the religion of thoſe whom they conſidered as their oppreſſors. Soon after the departure of Henry from Verbene, the biſhop of Aldenburg, perceiving that the princes of the Venedi endeavoured to elude their promiſe, and deſpairing of relief, retired to Hildeſheim, where he met with a moſt kind reception from Berenward biſhop of that city. The reſpect and veneration ſhewn to the biſhop of Aldenburg by the inhabitants of Hildeſheim proved fatal to that prelate; for he having undertaken to conſecrate a new church, the concourſe of people was ſo great that he was cruſhed to death *, and periſhed in the execution of his paſtoral office.

PEACE being now reſtored between the Venedi and the Tranſalbians or Saxons, biſhop Unwan rebuilt the metropolis of Hamburg, and invited the ancient inhabitants to return to their former manſions. Here he generally reſided half the year; at which time he had frequent interviews in this city with Bernard duke of Saxony and Canute king of Denmark, as alſo with Udo and Sederich princes of the Venedi. Hence it appears that thoſe princes muſt have been well diſpoſed at that time towards the Chriſtian religion, ſince they were invited to aſſemblies, where the intereſt of that religion was the chief object of their meeting †. 1023.

THE year following died the emperor Henry II. who was interred at Bamberg, and canonized by pope Eugene III. in 1152. He is highly extolled by the monaſtic writers, who were greatly indebted to him, as he was the moſt liberal of all the emperors towards the church. With him ended the branch of emperors of the houſe of Saxony. The extenſive territories which the Othos, and Henry II. after them, poſſeſſed in Saxony, and which now compoſe the duchies of Brunſwick and Lunenburg, went to the margrave Ludolphus, couſin to the above Henry II. Henry the Fat, count of Nordheim, had obtained thoſe territories by his marriage with Gertrude, the grand-daughter of Ludolphus; and his heireſs was his only daughter Richenza or Affairs of the Empire.

* Adam. Helmold. † Adam. Brem.

Rebecca

Rebecca, wife of the emperor Lotharius II. This prince having no male iſſue, that great eſtate came, by means of his daughter Gertrude, to the family of her huſband Henry Superbus duke of Bavaria, the ſtem of the preſent illuſtrious houſe of Brunſwick and Lunenburg *.

UPON the death of Henry II. the princes and ſtates aſſembling in the open fields between the cities of Mentz and Worms, proceeded to the election of an emperor, and fixed their choice on Conrad II. duke of Franconia. He was ſurnamed the Salic, from being born on the banks of the river Sala.

1025. Death and iſſue of Miſtevoy III.

SOON after this tranſaction Miſtevoy III. reſigned his laſt breath at Bardewick, where he had ſpent ſeven years in penance and retirement. He was a prince of great abilities, but immoderately paſſionate, which hurried him into the exceſſes againſt the Chriſtians in 1012, if theſe are not exaggerated by the Saxon writers. This prince had raiſed the power of his crown to the higheſt pitch, which quickly declined, by the weakneſs of his immediate ſucceſſors. He was a great example of the mutability of fortune, being reduced from the regal ſtate to poverty and hardſhip by his own ſubjects, and by his rebellious children. His wife's name is ſaid to have been Margaret, a Saxon princeſs; but of this there is no certainty †. He had five ſons, Andrach, Udo, Gneus, Ratibor, and Bogiſlaus ‡. The two eldeſt ſucceeded

* Pfeffel.

† Chemnitz makes her a daughter of Henry the Fowler, which Buckholtz ſhews to be impoſſible; and that if ſhe was a Saxon princeſs, ſhe muſt have been a daughter of Otho I. or Otho II. But his own opinion is, that the princes of the Venedi had not yet intermarried with the Saxons, and therefore he thinks it probable that ſhe was of Venedic extraction. See Buckholtz, Spener, Kluver, Beehr, Hubner.

‡ I ſpeak here according to the hiſtorians of Mecklenburg. Gebhardi will not allow Gneus and Andrach to have been brothers of Udo, but thinks them to have been the ſons of Siderich prince of Wagria. He makes Ratibor a prince of the Venedi, without mentioning his father; but takes no notice of Bogiſlaus. In ſhort, he ſuppoſes Udo to have been the only ſon of Miſtevoy. I do not find he has any authority for ſetting aſide the received genealogy of the ſerene family, and therefore I have thought proper to adhere to it. The words of Adam of Bremen, on which he builds, are too vague to determine the point: Tempore Conradi imperatoris, principes Winnulorum, Gneus et Anadrog, pagani erant, Udo vero tertius, filius

Miſtevoy

ceeded to the throne. Gneus, the third ſon, or, as ſome call him, Suenus, is ſaid to have been taken priſoner and hanged by Henry II. Others affirm that he was ſtill living in 1035. But whether he was really Miſtevoy's ſon, and Godeſcalcus's † deputy or ſtadtholder during that prince's abſence, as Chemnitz pretends, we will not take upon us to determine, as there is no authority for either. We find that when Godeſcalcus was taken priſoner, his uncles aſſumed or uſurped the government, without waiting for his return, or depending on his orders. Ratibor had all the reaſon to expect he ſhould tranſmit the crown to his poſterity, in conſequence of his numerous iſſue, who were eight ſons; but having uſurped the crown in Godeſcalcus's abſence, and engaging in a war with Magnus king of Denmark, he was ſlain in battle in the duchy of Sleſwick; and all his eight ſons met with the ſame fate in endeavouring to revenge their father's death. Bogiſlaus had the government of Pomerania, and from him the dukes of Pomerania were deſcended, which branch came to be extinct in 1637, and the duchy afterwards devolved to the houſe of Brandenburg *.

THIS year Andrach king of the Venedi and Obotrites is ſuppoſed to have been killed (for there are no certain accounts of his death) in a battle fought againſt Conrad II. Probably he had joined in the revolt which had been formed againſt that emperor by moſt of the princes of Germany, the chief of whom were Conrad duke of Franconia, his couſin-german; and Frederick duke of Lorrain, his brother-in-law. The motive of this revolt was the emperor's marriage with Giſela, widow of Erneſt duke of Swabia, whereby he acquired a perſonal right to the kingdom of the two Burgundies, to which the above-men-

1025. Death of Andrach.

Miſtevoy male Chriſtianus. He ſays, that Adam has marked thoſe princes too diſtinctly ever to be taken for brothers; but this is his own fancy, for I can ſee no ſuch diſtinct mark in the words of that hiſtorian.

† Godeſcalcus was Udo's ſon.

* See Spener, Krantzius, Lubechius, Hubner, Schwartzen de finibus Rugiæ, &c. Obſerve alſo, that the Monumenta Olivenſia derive Suentibor, the firſt duke of Pomerania, from the ſtock of the Obotrites; and Kramer, in Chron. Pom. c. 2. from theſe Monum. Olivens. demonſtrates, that Bogiſlaus, the father of Suentibor, was king of the Obotrites; ſo that this genealogy admits of no doubt.

tioned

tioned princes had alſo their pretenſions. But theſe being foreign to the preſent hiſtory, I ſhall not enter into a diſcuſſion of them. Let it ſuffice to take notice, that thoſe princes were very unſucceſsful in aſſerting their claims; for Conrad duke of Franconia was made priſoner, and remained a long time in confinement: Erneſt duke of Swabia, another competitor, and ſon of the empreſs Giſela, was put under the ban † of the empire at the diet of Ingelheim, and afterwards ſlain in battle: Frederick duke of Lorrain died in 1028, but was never able to make
1027. good his claim. The emperor having ſettled the affairs of Germany, undertook an expedition into Italy, to ſubdue the Lombards, who had openly revolted; and having reduced them by force of arms, proceeded to Rome, where he was crowned by pope John XX. Before he ſet out upon this expedition he cauſed his ſon Henry to be elected and crowned king of Germany.

To return to Andrach, we find no farther particulars of his reign, but that he married Evena, a Poliſh princeſs, by whom he left no iſſue ‖.

XVII. UDO,

The Seventeenth KING of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES.

EMPEROR of GERMANY, CONRAD II. 1027.

KING of ENGLAND, CANUTE I. 1017.

1025. Udo his brother ſucceeds to the crown.

UDO, the ſecond ſon of Miſtevoy, was called to the throne by the death of his brother Andrach, which he in vain endeavoured to revenge. The war was continued for ſome time to the diſadvantage of the Venedi, who were humbled by ſeveral defeats. The parties, indeed, were very unequal; the emperor

† The word ban originally ſignified a banner, afterward an edict, and laſtly a declaration of outlawry. ‡ Pfeffel. ‖ Buckholtz, &c.

Conrad

Conrad II. had triumphed over all Germany; and his arms meeting with no oppoſition from other quarters, found no great difficulty in over-powering the Venedi. He had married his ſon Henry III. to Gunilda, daughter of Canute I. king of England and Denmark; and the troops of that prince, joined to thoſe of Bernard duke of Saxony, are ſaid to have greatly contributed to his ſucceſſes. But the particulars of thoſe tranſactions are omitted by ancient hiſtorians; who are alſo very ſparing of their accounts concerning Udo; only in general we find they condemn his conduct, taxing him with cruelty, and ſtigmatizing him as a bad Chriſtian. Yet ſince it is certain, that this prince ſent his ſon Godeſcalcus to be educated at Lunenburg, under Chriſtian preceptors, one might preſume that he believed in that religion; at leaſt, he muſt have been well-diſpoſed to favour it; though perhaps he did not chuſe openly to profeſs Chriſtianity, for fear of exaſperating his heathen ſubjects. Hence it is, that Helmoldus calls him male Chriſtianus, and reckons him among the perſecutors of Chriſtianity. We rather incline to think that, according to the ſtyle of thoſe times, a Venedic prince muſt be a bad Chriſtian, who, though he had embraced that religion, yet would not ſuffer his ſubjects to be fleeced and impoveriſhed, in order to enrich the clergy. The reſtitution of the church-lands was long a bone of contention between the Saxons and the Venedi, and greatly obſtructed the cauſe of religion. Helmoldus however owns, that if nothing was done during this prince's reign, towards promoting the intereſt of Chriſtianity among the Venedi, it was intirely owing to the avarice of the Saxons, and particularly of duke Bernard; and that they fleeced the Venedic diſtricts, ſubject to their juriſdiction, in ſo cruel a manner, as to leave nothing for the ſupport of the church. This I apprehend is to be underſtood chiefly in regard to Wagria, where Chriſtianity had been formerly eſtabliſhed. Be that as it may, Udo being held in great deteſtation by the Saxons, was barbarouſly aſſaſſinated by a perſon of that nation, a gentleman of Holſtein, in the year 1032. The motives to this aſſaſſination, mentioned by Hel-

1029. His education and religion.

He is aſſaſſinated by a Saxon. 1032.

moldus, are, that he was a bad Chriſtian, and addicted to cruelty, of which laſt he does not mention any one inſtance. We do not find that this murderer was held a bad Chriſtian for perpetrating ſo flagitious a deed, or that he was ever puniſhed. Udo married a daughter of Canute the Great, named Maria or Marina, by whom he had a ſon, who ſucceeded him by the name of Godeſcalcus, and a daughter, eſpouſed to Bluſſo, a prince of one of the Venedic tribes; by ſome ſhe is named Gruilda. The probability of his having married a Daniſh princeſs is founded on his meeting with an aſylum and aſſiſtance among the Danes *.

We muſt not omit a very memorable event in this prince's reign, as it nearly relates to the hiſtory of the Venedi. This was the creating Adolphus of Salingſleben count of Schaumburg in 1030. His deſcendants obtained the county of Holſtein under the emperor Henry V. This county afterwards devolved, in 1459, to the royal houſe of Denmark, and in 1474 was erected into a duchy.

* Helmold. Adam Brem. Albert Stad. Krantz. Bangert, Kirchberg, Beehr, Kluver, Buckholtz.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Containing the reigns of Godeſcalcus and Buthue, from 1032 to 1075.

Godeſcalcus deſerts the Chriſtian religion, and perſecutes its followers. His repentance. He is taken priſoner by Duke Bernard. Again embraces Chriſtianity. His dominions uſurped by his uncles. Is releaſed, and goes to Denmark. His expedition to England. Affairs of the Obotrites under Gneus and Ratibor. Troubles in Denmark. Godeſcalcus reſtored to his dominions. Exerts his zeal in promoting Chriſtianity. Hated on that account by his ſubjects. His martyrdom. Suppreſſion of Chriſtianity among the Obotrites. Godeſcalcus's iſſue. The crown ſettled on Cruco prince of Rugen. Buthue defeats Cruco, and recovers his crown. Deſcription of Rugen. Buthue is depoſed, and flies to Saxony. He attempts once more to recover his kingdom. He is ſurprized at Ploen, and put to death. His iſſue.

XVIII. GODESCALCUS,

The Eighteenth KING of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES.

EMPERORS of GERMANY,

CONRAD II. 1024. HENRY III. 1039. HENRY IV. 1056.

KINGS of ENGLAND,

CANUTE I. 1017. HAROLD I. 1036. CANUTE II. 1039. EDWARD the CONFESSOR, 1041. HAROLD II. 1065.

AT the time when Udo king of the Venedi and Obotrites fell by the hands of a barbarous aſſaſſin, his ſon Godeſcalcus was at his ſtudies in the monaſtery of St. Michael in Lunenburg, where he had been educated in the principles of Chriſtianity, 1032.

ſtianity, under Godeſcalcus biſhop of the Goths, and ſuperintendent of that monaſtery. So enraged was the young prince upon hearing of the murder of his father, that he renounced his religion together with his ſtudies, and croſſing the Elbe, returned with all expedition to the country of the Venedi. This change of religion might have been owing to his deteſtation of the murderer of his father; but more probably was an act of policy, in order to ingratiate himſelf with his ſubjects, who were now become moſt bigotted idolaters. With this view, he began to perſecute the Chriſtians in his dominions, according to the uſual cuſtom of proſelytes, who, to ſhew the ſincerity of their converſion, diſplay the utmoſt marks of averſion to the ſect which they have relinquiſhed. No ſooner was he poſſeſſed of the government, than he raiſed a body of troops, and marched againſt the Saxons, in order to revenge the murder of his father. With theſe forces he over-ran all Nordalbingia, particularly the diſtricts of Holſtein and Stormar; on which occaſion very great cruelties are ſaid to have been committed againſt the clergy. The only places that eſcaped his fury were the garriſoned towns of Itzehoe and Bokeldeburg, whither as many as could ſave themſelves from the general ravage retired, together with their wives and children †.

Godeſcalcus deſerts the Chriſtian religion;

and perſecutes its followers.

THESE incurſions had been continued for ſome time, when Godeſcalcus happened one day to be ſmitten with a ſudden remorſe on his return from an expedition, in which his ſoldiers had committed the moſt horrid outrages. In the midſt of his march he caſt his eye on the deſolate face of the country, and could not help taking notice of the direful effects of his rage, which had changed that once fruitful and populous province, adorned with ſo many goodly ſtructures, into a deſart. This conſideration filled his mind with ſentiments of humanity and religion; and as his embracing the Pagan ſuperſtition had been a raſh and precipitate ſtep, he began to repent of his error, and

His repentance.

† Adam. Helmold.

reſolved

reſolved to return into the way of truth. Thus indulging himſelf in a train of religious thoughts, he advanced at ſome diſtance from his men, when he fell in with a ſtranger, whom, by his outward appearance, he knew to be a Saxon and a Chriſtian. The ſtranger perceiving a military commander, would have immediately turned out of the road; but Godeſcalcus called out to him, and bade him not to be under any apprehenſion; for he might be aſſured of receiving no manner of injury. Upon which the Saxon being emboldened to ſtop, Godeſcalcus aſked him the place of his nativity and reſidence, and what intelligence he had to communicate. The man made anſwer, "I am a poor Holſatian, and have no intelligence, but "of the moſt melancholy kind. The public calamities increaſe "every day: Godeſcalcus, the barbarous prince of the Slavi, has "laid waſte our habitations with fire and ſword, and depopulated "this poor country: he continually thirſts after innocent blood, "which alone can ſatiate his cruelty. It is time his barbarities "ſhould have an end, and the Lord would pleaſe to revenge "the cauſe of an injured people." To whom Godeſcalcus replied, "Thy reflexions, my friend, againſt the prince of "the Slavi are extremely ſevere. It is true he has committed "great outrages in this part of the land; but it was a juſt re"ſentment which animated him to puniſh the Saxons for the "murder of his innocent father. I am Godeſcalus; I am the "author of all theſe violences; of which I now moſt ſincerely "repent; and ſhould be glad, if poſſible, to repair the injury "I have committed. Return to thy countrymen, and ac"quaint them that I am deſirous of putting an end to hoſtili"ties; and to convince them of my ſincere intention, tell them "that I am ready to deliver up into their hands this gang of "banditti, with whom, more through neceſſity than inclination, "I have been hitherto connected *." This ſaid, he returned to

* This dialogue between Godeſcalcus and the Saxon is taken from Helmoldus; but could Godeſcalcus in honour or juſtice deliver up his ſoldiers into the hands of his enemies; eſpecially as they were acting by his orders, and revenging the murder

to his ſoldiers, and the Saxon to his countrymen: the latter paid no attention to Godeſcalcus's offer, imagining he only intended to draw them into a ſnare ‖.

He is taken priſoner by D. Bernard.

NOT long after this adventure, Godeſcalcus had the misfortune of being taken priſoner by Bernard duke of Saxony, who at length roſe out of his lethargy, and marched a ſtrong army to repel the inroads of the Venedi. The duke kept him ſome time in confinement; but ſtruck with the admiration of his bravery, and perhaps affected with the circumſtance of his return to Chriſtianity, as well as deſirous to make ſo gallant a prince his friend, he ſet him at liberty, without requiring any ranſom.

His dominions uſurped by his uncles.

During his captivity, his uncles Gneus and Ratibor had uſurped the throne; and Godeſcalcus finding himſelf unable to diſpoſſeſs them, from the prejudices which had been raiſed againſt him in his abſence, chiefly in regard to religion, reſolved to retire for

He is releaſed and retires to Denmark.

ſome time to Denmark *.

1036.

THIS kingdom was then poſſeſſed † by Hardi-Canute, the ſecond ſon of Canute the Great, king of England, Denmark, and Norway. His father, the moſt powerful prince of his time, der of his father? Helmoldus writes as a Saxon, and as a prieſt: As a Saxon he treats the Venedi with great contempt and averſion; and as a prieſt, he might perhaps have thought it right in Godeſcalcus to ſacrifice his troops for the ſake of religion. Be that as it may, I am apt to think, from theſe incurſions, and from the ſmall parties which Godeſcalcus ſeems to have had under his command, that he was not then poſſeſſed of the ſovereignty, at leaſt not of the whole; but that it had been uſurped by his uncles Gneus and Ratibor, immediately upon his father's death; and this is Latomus's opinion, who ſays he did not mount the throne till after his return from Denmark.

‖ Adam. Helmold.

* The circumſtance of his retiring to Denmark, is uſed as a probable argument in favour of thoſe who make his mother a princeſs of Denmark.

† There ſeems to be ſome difficulty here about the time in which Godeſcalcus retired to Denmark. Some pretend it was in the reign of Canute the Great, and that this prince employed him in the wars of Norway, and took him with him to England; but this cannot be, for Canute the Great's expedition to Norway, where he depoſed Olaus, was in 1027, ſome time before the death of Udo, and the retreat of Godeſcalcus; and after that year Canute the Great returned no more to Denmark. Therefore, as Adam and Helmoldus both affirm that Godeſcalcus was well received by Canute king of Denmark, and went with him to England, I think they muſt mean Hardi-Canute, who began to reign in 1036.

died

died at Shafteſbury in 1036, in the 19th year of his reign, and divided his dominions among his children ‡: to Harold, the eldeſt, by a concubine, he gave England; to Hardi-Canute, the ſecond, by Emma of Normandy, he bequeathed Denmark; and to Sweyn, the youngeſt, alſo by a concubine, he left the crown of Norway. Hardi-Canute is ſaid by ſome to have obtained the appellation of Hardy from the valorous actions performed againſt Olaus king of Norway, who was depoſed by his father Canute the Great; and by others from his roughneſs and ſeverity, which is the reaſon of the Latin hiſtorians rendering this epithet by the word Durus. This prince received Godeſcalcus, with great cordiality and friendſhip, and employed him in the war in Norway againſt Magnus the ſon of Olaus, who endeavoured to recover his father's crown. Godeſcalcus is ſaid to have ſignalized himſelf in this war, the ſucceſs of which is variouſly related, and foreign to our hiſtory *. But Hardi-Canute having ſoon after determined to invade England, then poſſeſſed by his brother, Godeſcalus embarked with him in 1038.
that expedition, and arrived at Bruges, the reſidence of Emma, Hardi-Canute's mother. Here they were made acquainted with the death of king Harold in 1039, and were met by ambaſſadors 1039.
from England, who invited Hardi-Canute to accept of the crown. From thence they ſet ſail for England, where Godeſcalus remained till the death of Hardi-Canute, which happened at Lambeth in 1041. During his ſtay in England he improved himſelf in virtue and religion; and to atone for his paſt conduct, he reſolved that if ever he were reinſtated in his kingdom, he would uſe his utmoſt endeavours to reſtore Chriſtianity †.

His expedition to England.

‡ Here I follow the Daniſh hiſtorians. The Engliſh make Sweyn the eldeſt, Harold the ſecond, and Hardi-Canute the third.

* Some ſay that the Daniſh army was defeated, and others that Hardi-Canute, in order to proſecute his deſign upon England, entered into a treaty with Magnus, and yielded to him the crown of Norway, of which his brother Sweyn was unworthy. His pretence to the crown of England was, that he was born in lawful wedlock, whereas Harold and Sweyn were both baſtards.

† Pontan. Adam. Helmold.

Death of the emperor Conrad II.

ABOUT this time died the emperor Conrad II. after having made a ſecond expedition into Italy in 1038, to ſuppreſs a revolt headed by Herbert archbiſhop of Milan. After he had quelled the rebellion, he returned to Germany, and reſigned his laſt breath at Utrecht. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Henry III. ſurnamed the Black, who had been already elected king of Germany in 1026. It is chiefly to Conrad II. that the German civilians attribute the inheritance of fiefs.

Affairs of the Obotrites under Gneus and Ratibor.

DURING the abſence of Godeſcalcus in England, his uncles, Gneus and Ratibor, continued to rule over the Wagrians and the Obotrites. Their uſurpation was unmoleſted and quiet, till the death of Hardi-Canute, when Ratibor thought proper to quarrel with the crown of Denmark. In regard to the religion of thoſe princes, there are different opinions: Some apprehend that they were Chriſtians*, becauſe they frequently repaired to Hamburg, in order to confer with the duke of Saxony and Bezelinus archbiſhop of that ſee, who ſucceeded Libentius in 1032. Ratibor is alſo ſaid to have been in the Saxon ſervice, before he uſurped the government of the Venedi. Others are of opinion †, that his Chriſtianity is hardly reconcileable to his uſurpation of the throne, and that it is not at all probable the Venedi, who had ſo great an averſion to Chriſtianity, as to depoſe, on that account, ſome of their lawful princes, would have ſubmitted to Chriſtian uſurpers. As for their having interviews with duke Bernard and the biſhop Bezelinus, theſe might have been concerning temporal affairs, and no way relative to the church. This however is certain, that the Chriſtian religion did not flouriſh under their adminiſtration, on which account the hiſtorians of thoſe times greatly condemn Bernard duke of Saxony: for the duke and the archbiſhop always drew different ways, the duke being employed in levying money, and the archbiſhop in propagating Chriſtianity; ſo that the goſpel would have made a conſiderable progreſs by means of the zeal of the clergy, had it not been obſtructed by the avarice of the Saxon princes ‡.

* Adam, c. 59, ſays poſitively, that Ratibor was a Chriſtian.

† Buckholtz. ‡ Adam. Helmold.

UPON

Troubles in Denmark.

UPON the death of Hardi-Canute, the laſt of the Skioldingæ, in 1041, Godeſcalcus quitted England, where he had no longer any connexions, and returned to Denmark. Here he found this kingdom greatly divided by two competitors, Magnus, ſon of Olaus king of Norway, who pretended that Hardi-Canute and he had agreed, that the ſurvivor ſhould inherit both kingdoms; and Sweyn, ſurnamed Eſtrittius, who claimed as the nephew of Canute the Great by that prince's ſiſter Eſtritta. Magnus hearing of the death of Hardi-Canute *, immediately ſet ſail for Denmark with a formidable fleet, and was elected by the ſtates of that kingdom, who dreaded his power. Sweyn reſolving to diſpute the crown, gained a great number of the Daniſh nobility to his intereſt, by which means he equipped a fleet in Jutland. Godeſcalcus finding it impoſſible to recover his kingdom, from which he was excluded by the vigilance of Ratibor, reſolved not to be an idle ſpectator in the Daniſh quarrel, but took the part of Sweyn, apprehending juſtice to be (as it really was) on that prince's ſide. The two fleets, under the 1041.
command of Sweyn and Magnus, encountered at ſea; when Sweyn was defeated, and obliged to make his eſcape to the iſle of Funen. Here he refitted, and venturing upon another engagement, met with the ſame ill ſucceſs: his whole fleet was taken or diſperſed, and he himſelf was obliged to retire to Sweden. In all probability he was accompanied by Godeſcalcus, though we do not find this mentioned in hiſtory.

MAGNUS was at length ſettled on the throne of Denmark; 1042.
where he was much beloved by his ſubjects for his great regard to juſtice, and his other royal virtues. He now found himſelf at leiſure to turn his arms againſt the Venedi, who had invaded his frontiers, under the command of Ratibor, the uncle of Godeſcalcus. During the diſturbances in Denmark, Ratibor had increaſed

* We do not find where Sweyn was at the time of Hardi-Canute's death; ſome think he was in England, and that Godeſcalcus and he returned together to Denmark.

his power to ſuch a degree, as to think himſelf a match for that northern kingdom. We have already obſerved that he had no leſs than eight ſons; ſo that the crown ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed in his branch, and Godeſcalcus for ever excluded from the ſucceſſion. But Providence had otherways ordained, and, contrary to all expectation, the uſurper's line was intirely cut off, and the lawful prince at length aſcended the throne. Intoxicated by his ſucceſſes, Ratibor had ventured to provoke the Danes by repeated incurſions; availing himſelf of the inteſtine diviſions of that nation, which had reduced it to the loweſt ebb. To thoſe very diviſions we may alſo impute the liberty of England, which, at this very period, ſhook off the Daniſh yoke.

MAGNUS having aſſembled his forces in the duchy of Sleſ-
1045. wick, was met by the Venedi, under the command of Ratibor; when the two armies came to an engagement, in which Ratibor was ſlain *, and victory declared itſelf in favour of the Danes †. Ratibor's ſons, being fully reſolved to revenge their father's death, raiſed a conſiderable army the next year, with which they over-ran the coaſt of Jutland, ſpreading terror and
1046. deſolation through the whole country. What oppoſition they met with this campaign, I do not find; whether they were repulſed, or retired of their own accord, upon the approach of winter. The year following they renewed their incurſions, with greater fury and numbers, during the abſence of Magnus, who had made an excurſion to Norway; but having intelligence
1047. of their motions, he returned with all expedition from that kingdom, and collecting his forces, ſeized the ſtrait or narrow paſs of Kopperheide, with a view to intercept the enemy. Here he gave them battle, which was fought with incredible obſtinacy on both ſides; but at length the good fortune of Magnus

* We find no account of the death of his brother Gneus, nor is he mentioned at the time that Godeſcalcus recovered his dominions.

† Ad. c. 59.

prevail-

prevailing, the Venedi were totally routed. Ratibor's eight ſons, with fifteen thouſand men, periſhed on that memorable day, and the remainder of the Venedic army were taken priſoners. After this victory, peace and joy were eſtabliſhed in Denmark during the remainder of Magnus's reign. By this ſignal ſucceſs, and his clemency to his priſoners, he acquired the ſurname of Good, and ſo endeared himſelf to his ſubjects, that they received him upon his return with the greateſt acclamations *.

GODESCALCUS, whom all this while we have left with Sweyn Eſtrittius in Sweden, finding his friend's cauſe declining every day, and that he had long ſerved to no purpoſe under the banners of a foreign prince, thought it adviſeable to make an attempt to recover his paternal inheritance. The opportunity was favourable, the whole race of Ratibor the uſurper being cut off, and the greateſt part of his enemies being priſoners in Denmark. The event anſwered his expectations. Upon his firſt appearance, indeed, amongſt the Venedi, he met with a ſtrong oppoſition, perhaps on the account of his † religion; but a party being afterwards formed in his favour, he openly ventured to aſſert his right to the crown, and the royal cauſe aſſumed a more favourable aſpect. 1047.

The year following happened an event which crowned his attempt with ſucceſs. Magnus king of Denmark died by a fall from his horſe, which took fright at a hare's croſſing the ground. This prince having died without iſſue, was ſucceeded without oppoſition by Sweyn, the neareſt to the crown in blood. Sweyn had a particular affection for Godeſcalcus, who had ſo faithfully adhered to his cauſe in the long conteſt with Magnus. No ſooner, therefore, had he aſcended the Daniſh throne, than he ſent a ſtrong body of troops to the aſſiſtance of his friend, by means of which the latter defeated all his enemies, and intirely recovered his hereditary dominions ‡. 1048.

* Ad. Brem. Alb. Stad. Krantz. † Adam of Bremen ſays, a quibuſdam tyrannis. ‡ Saxo. Pontan. Helmold.

1050. Godeſcalcus reſtored to his dominions.

GODESCALCUS being now ſettled on the throne *, which he had in ſome meaſure acquired by the ſword, began to think himſelf at liberty to exert his zeal in the ſervice of Chriſtianity, after he had ſo greatly injured it by his former deſertion. With this view he ſent for miſſionaries of pious life, and zealous in the diſcharge of their office; and to theſe he committed the care of inſtructing and baptizing the inhabitants. A great number of churches were alſo rebuilt among the Wagrii, the Polabi, and the Obotrites. Even the Kiſſini and the Circipani were affected by his example, and expreſſed a deſire to embrace Chriſtianity. Three monaſteries were erected in Mecklenburg, and others in divers parts of the country, as in Aldenburg, Ratzeburg, Lentzen, and Lubeck.

Foundation of old Lubeck.

BUT as this is the firſt mention we meet with in hiſtory of the celebrated city of Lubeck, it will not be amiſs to give ſome account of its ancient ſtate, and of the revolutions it underwent, before it came to make ſo great a figure in the annals of Mecklenburg. The old Lubeck of all is ſaid to have been founded † by our king Godeſcalcus, for the conveniency of commerce, on the ſame ground as the preſent city. Cruco prince of Rugen erected a caſtle here in 1066; for which reaſon he is ſuppoſed by ſome to have been the founder of this place. Henry, who aſcended the throne of the Venedi by killing that prince in 1105, removed the town two miles from hence to the river Schwartow. This ſituation rendered it more expoſed to the Rugians, who, to revenge the death of their prince Cruco, totally demoliſhed this town (viz. Old Lubeck) in 1139. In 1140 Adolphus II. count of Holſtein laid the foundation of New Lubeck, or the preſent city, between the Trave and the Wackenitz; of which we ſhall treat in its proper place. In

* Saxo ſays, he began with revenging his father's death upon the Saxons, thinking that dominion would be inglorious, unleſs he ſated his juſt revenge, at the ſame time that he improved his fortune. But the particulars of this revenge are not mentioned by that hiſtorian.

† Some pretend it was built by one Vicboldus, a Daniſh duke, but ſhew no authority for it. This at leaſt is generally allowed, that Godeſcalcus either built or greatly improved this city.

the

the mean time the reader will pleaſe to obſerve, that in the Saxon writers Old Lubeck not only ſignifies the town built by Henry near the Schwartow, but alſo the town founded or improved by Godeſcalcus.

To return now to the affairs of Chriſtianity among the Venedi, Godeſcalcus, by his great prudence and reſolution, ſeemed to have ſurmounted all the difficulties which had hitherto oppoſed the progreſs of religion. His friendſhip and alliance with Sweyn king of Denmark contributed to ſtrengthen his authority, which was increaſed by his eſpouſing the princeſs Syritha *, that monarch's daughter. Another circumſtance in his favour was the quarrel which ſoon after aroſe between the Kiſſini and the Circipani on the one hand, and the Riaduri and Tolenzi on the other. The diſpute was about ſuperiority, which the Riaduri claimed to themſelves on account of their ancient city of Rhethre, and the famous temple in which they preſerved the ſtatue of their god Rhadegaſtus. The Circipani and Kiſſini would acknowledge no ſuperiority, but reſolved to defend their independency by force of arms. The contending tribes fought ſeveral battles, in which the Riaduri and Tolenzi were always worſted. Aſhamed of their frequent defeats, they applied to the neighbouring powers, the kings of Denmark and the Obotrites, and duke Bernard of Saxony, for aſſiſtance. Unfortunately for mankind, the generality of ſtates are but too ready to avail themſelves of the diviſions of their neighbours: the above princes ſent a large army into that country †, where their troops were maintained ſeveral weeks at the expence of the Circipani. Theſe people made all the oppoſition they poſſibly could, but were overpowered; many thouſands were ſlain, and great numbers taken priſoners. At length they were obliged to pay

He exerts his zeal in promoting Chriſtianity.

1051.
1052.
1053.
1054.
1055.

* We cannot fix the year of his marrying Syritha; it is certain it could not be before 1048.

† What year this expedition happened we cannot aſcertain; only it muſt have been between the years 1050 and 1056, for, according to Adam and Helmoldus, it was in the reign of Henry III. who ended his days in 1056. The preceding years before 1050, Godeſcalcus muſt have been employed in reducing his revolted ſubjects, and in promoting Chriſtianity.

fifteen

fifteen thouſand marks * for the purchaſe of a peace, and the armies of the three princes returned home in triumph. In order to keep the Kiſſini in awe, Godeſcalcus is ſaid to have built a fort, which was the firſt beginning or foundation of the city of Roſtock. By this quarrel, the event of which proved ſo pernicious to thoſe deluded people, Godeſcalcus gained a conſiderable acceſſion of territory, the Wilzi having been all made ſubject to his dominion. There does not ſeem to have been any thing ſtipulated in favour of Chriſtianity; but this could not be imputed to the neglect of a prince, who was ſo zealous a promoter of his religion; it muſt be owing to the avarice of duke Bernard, who, by the confeſſion of the Saxon writers, directed his whole attention to the accumulation of treaſure †.

1056. THIS affair being ſettled to his mind, Godeſcalcus reſumed the care of religion, which ſeems to have been intermitted by the late expedition. His zeal being now uncontrolled, would admit of no bounds: on many occaſions he acted as a miſſionary and a prieſt; and whenever the biſhops, or inferior clergy, happened to mention any thing in their ſermons that ſeemed to be myſterious or obſcure, he would forget his rank ſo far as to take the pains of explaining it himſelf to the common people in the Venedic language.

WHILE Godeſcalcus was employed in propagating religion, the emperor Henry III. breathed his laſt at Burfelt, aged thirty-nine, having, not long before his death, cauſed his ſon Henry IV. an infant ſix years old, to be declared king of the Romans ‡. His reign had been diſturbed chiefly by the wars in Hungary, which kingdom he ſubdued §; and by the broils in Italy, where he maintained the majeſty of the empire againſt the papal encroachments.

* A mark of ſilver at that time was eight ounces, which at preſent makes eight imperials or florins: But in proceſs of time the mark decreaſed in value to three florins. Aventin. Annal. Boj. l. 8. Matth. Hoſtus de re numm. l. 5.

† Ad. c. 24. Helmold. c. 21. l. 1.

‡ This was the beginning of the cuſtom of giving the title of king of the Romans to the prince who was deſigned to ſucceed to the Imperial crown.

§ According to the Saxon annals.

NOT

NOT long after this event, the biſhopric of Aldenburg was 1058.
ſplit into three, with the conſent of Godeſcalcus, by Adalbert archbiſhop of Hamburg: theſe were Aldenburg (afterwards removed to Lubeck,) Ratezburg, and Mecklenburg. The archbiſhop's intention by this diviſion was to erect his ſee into a patriarchate; for which purpoſe he thought it neceſſary to have twelve ſuffragans. A native of Scotland, named John, was the firſt biſhop of Mecklenburg, and is ſaid to have baptized many thouſands throughout the country. This good man had left his native land for the ſake of travelling into foreign parts. Upon his arrival in Saxony he was well received by the archbiſhop, who, in 1057, recommended him to Godeſcalcus, as a virtuous eccleſiaſtic, and capable of promoting the cauſe of religion *.

THE affairs of Chriſtianity had begun to wear a moſt pleaſing aſpect, when a ſudden cloud overcaſt the ſky of Vandalia, and was followed by a ſtorm, which involved both Chriſtianity and Godeſcalcus in one common deſtruction; I mean the lamentable cataſtrophe of this good king, who was maſſacred the preſent year by his rebellious ſubjects. Theſe misfortunes were ſaid by the ſuperſtitious of thoſe days to have been portended by a terrible comet, which appeared the ſame year about Eaſter. During the greateſt part of the reign of the emperor Henry III. the Venedi had behaved very quietly, and even conſented to embrace their prince's religion. Perhaps they had been kept in awe by that emperor, whoſe arms had been ſucceſsful againſt the Hungarians, Bohemians, and other nations. But the minority of his ſon Henry IV. having occaſioned great diſſenſions among the princes of Germany, the empire was thereby weakened, and the Chriſtian religion in the country of the Venedi loſt one of its chief ſupports. Another event of great prejudice to Chriſtianity, and to Godeſcalcus, was the death of Bernard II. duke of Saxony, in 1061. This prince had poſſeſſed that dukedom forty

1066. Hated on that account by his ſubjects.

* Ariſto was alſo ſent by Adelbert archbiſhop of Hamburg, to aſſiſt Godeſcalcus in converting his ſubjects; he was made biſhop of Ratzeburg. The two biſhoprics of Mecklenburg and Ratzeburg were founded by Godeſcalcus.

years,

years, during which time he held the Venedi greatly in awe, and latterly had acted as a friend and ally to Godeſcalcus. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Otho or Ordulphus *, a prince greatly inferior to his father both in civil and military abilities.

THE Venedi had now taken a diſlike to their prince for the zeal which he diſplayed in ſupport of Chriſtianity; and thinking he acted rather the part of a prieſt than a king, they were determined to renounce both him and his religion. The coals of ſedition were blown by Crito or Cruco prince of Rugen, and by Bluſſo, who had married Godeſcalcus's own ſiſter. Things being ripe for a rebellion, they roſe up in arms as it were with one accord, and, after overturning and deſtroying the Chriſtian temples, they ſet up their idols, and murdered a great number of the clergy. Anſuerus the monk, with other eccleſiaſtics, were ſtoned to death at Ratzeburg. When Anſuerus came to the place of execution, he deſired that his companions ſhould be put to death before him, apprehending they might change their religion to ſave their lives; and after they had made their triumphant exit, he kneeled down, and recommending his ſoul to God, received the crown of martyrdom with the ſame ſerenity and compoſure as St. Stephen †. John the North Briton, biſhop of Mecklenburg, a man advanced in years, was dragged about the country, and expoſed every where to ſcorn and ridicule; but when no artifices nor endeavours could prevail on him to renounce his religion, his hands and feet were cut off, and the lifeleſs trunk was thrown into the ſtreets: his head was alſo ſevered from his body, and offered up in ſacrifice to their god Rhadegaſtus. This happened at Rhethre, the capital of the Slavi, ſituated on the lake of Plauen ‡.

1066. The murder of Godeſcalcus.

THIS horrid tragedy was crowned with the murder of that excellent prince Godeſcalcus, who, in this ſame inſurrection, fell a martyr to his religion, and a ſacrifice to popular rage, in

* Adam ſays, the dukedom was divided between his ſons Ordulphus and Hermannus.

† Helm. c. 22.

‡ Helmold. c. 21, 22. Ad. c. 11, 12, 13.

the

the town of Lenzin *. He was preaching, or explaining the gospel to his people, when a ſudden diſturbance aroſe, which drowned his voice, and the barbarous rabble ruſhing up to the altar, laid their impious hands on their innocent ſovereign, and ſacrificed him to the god Rhadegaſt, to atone, as they pretended, for the offences he had committed againſt that deity. His martyrdom.

AFTER this horrid parricide, the rebels aſſembling all their forces, broke into Holſtein, and committed the moſt violent outrages throughout the country. The city of Hamburg they burnt down to the ground, and carried off a great number of the Holſteiners into ſlavery. From thence they penetrated into the duchy of Sleſwick, where they demoliſhed all the churches, and maſſacred the inhabitants. This expedition was conducted by Bluſſo, the brother-in-law of Godeſcalcus. So great was the fury of thoſe enthuſiaſtic rebels, that, regardleſs of all decency, and adding the utmoſt indignity to the moſt horrid barbarity, they ſtripped Queen Syritha, the wife of Godeſcalcus, ſtark naked, and ſent her back with the reſt of her ladies to her own country †. It is probable that ſhe took her ſon with her to Denmark, where her father ſtill wielded the ſceptre. The young princes, Godeſcalcus's ſons, had a narrow eſcape; Buthue, the eldeſt, fled to Saxony; the youngeſt, whoſe name was Henry, ſaved himſelf in Denmark. The leaders of the rebellion began now to diſagree, each aſpiring to the ſovereignty; and in all probability they would have turned their arms againſt each other, if Bluſſo had not been aſſaſſinated ſoon after his return from Holſtein: This murder is ſuppoſed to have been committed by Cruco's order, who thus got rid of a formidable rival. Suppreſſion of Chriſtianity among the Obotrites.

SUCH was the rapidity with which the rebels invaded Holſtein and Sleſwick, that they had over-run the whole country before the Daniſh monarch had received any intelligence of their motions, or of the baſe and inhuman treatment ſhewn to his ſiſter. To revenge theſe injuries, he immediately raiſed an army; but

* Godeſcalcus was murdered in the month of June; Anſuerus in the month of July; John, biſhop of Mecklenburg, in the month of November, 1066.

† Some ſay they were put to death.

ſoon was diverted from his purpoſe by unſeaſonable acts of devotion at Roſchild; for ſuperſtition had now weakened the faculties of this prince, and rendered him inſenſible to the real duties of a ſovereign. Ordulphus duke of Saxony likewiſe undertook to revenge the murder of Godeſcalcus; but he was generally defeated by the rebels, and on that account deſpiſed by his own ſubjects. This cataſtrophe of Godeſcalcus happened in the tenth year of Henry IV.'s reign, and in the twenty-fourth of the epiſcopacy of Adelbert.

Godeſcalcus's iſſue.

GODESCALCUS was twice married; firſt, to Symbulla, (according to the hiſtorians of Mecklenburg) a Poliſh princeſs, by whom he had his ſon Buthue; and, ſecondly, to Syritha, daughter of Sweyn Eſtrittius king of Denmark, and mother of his youngeſt ſon Henry. They both ſucceeded him in the throne of the Venedi and Obotrites *.

XIX. BUTHUE,

The Nineteenth KING of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES.

EMPEROR of GERMANY, HENRY IV. 1056.

KINGS of ENGLAND,

HAROLD II. 1065. WILLIAM the CONQUEROR, 1066.

1066. The crown ſettled on Cruco, prince of Rugen.

AFTER the horrid murder of Godeſcalcus, the rebels convened a council in order to ſettle the government; and being apprehenſive that Buthue, the eldeſt ſon of Godeſcalcus, would revenge his father's death, were he entruſted with the ſovereignty, they reſolved to confer it on Cruco † prince of Rugen.

* Helmold. Krantz. Ad. Brem. Albert Stad. Kirchberg, Latom. Simon Vand. Beehr, Kluver, Spener, Hubner, Buckholtz, Gebhardi.

† He was of the royal family, Grim his father being ſon of Miciſlaus, and brother of Miſlevoy III. See Table II

Another

Another motive for their ſetting Buthue aſide, was his ſtrong connection with the Saxons, againſt whom the Venedi bore an implacable averſion. "If Buthue ſucceeds to the crown, ſaid "one of the rebels, his affection for Chriſtianity, added to the "deſire of revenging his father's death, will hurry him into ſuch "meaſures as muſt neceſſarily involve this country in freſh di-"ſturbances." In conſequence of this reſolution they invited Cruco to accept the crown, and paſſed a law for ſending the ſons of Godeſcalcus into baniſhment. Henry, the youngeſt brother, retired to Denmark, his grandfather Sweyn III. being ſovereign of that kingdom. Buthue, the eldeſt brother, took ſhelter among the Saxons at Bardewick, by whoſe aſſiſtance he expected to get poſſeſſion of the crown. The Saxon princes had a very great affection for Buthue, who was ſtrongly attached to the intereſts of their nation. Being therefore reſolved to ſupport the cauſe of that injured prince, they raiſed a powerful army, with which they marched againſt Cruco, and obtained a complete victory over the rebels. In conſequence of this ſucceſs Buthue was reſtored to his paternal inheritance, and Cruco ſaved himſelf by flight among the Rugians.

Buthue defeats Cruco, and recovers his crown.

As we ſhall have frequent occaſion to make mention of this nation in the courſe of our hiſtory, and as the princes of Rugen were a branch of the royal family of the Venedi, it will be proper to give ſome account of that famous principality. Rugen is an iſland in the Baltic, not above a mile diſtant from the continent, extending twenty-eight miles in length, and as many in breadth. The ſea penetrates ſo far into it, as to form ſeveral other iſlands and peninſulas. The ſoil is extremely fruitful, eſpecially in all ſorts of grain. It breeds likewiſe abundance of cattle, and yields great plenty of fiſh, but is ſupplied with fuel from Pomerania. It takes its name from the Rugi, who at firſt were ſettled on the Pomeranian coaſts, beyond the Oder; but afterwards removed on this ſide that river. They had princes of their own, derived from the royal family of the Venedi, as may be ſeen in the ſecond table prefixed to this work. Theſe princes conquered a tract of land on the

Deſcription of Rugen.

continent, and made a conſiderable figure. In 1168, Waldemar I. king of Denmark, ſubdued Rugen, ſuppreſſed the ſuperſtitious worſhip of the idol Suantewit, and obliged the inhabitants to embrace Chriſtianity; from which time the princes of Rugen became vaſſals to the crown of Denmark. Upon the deceaſe of the laſt prince of that family, named Wartiſlaus XI. in 1478, this iſland became united to Pomerania, under the government of duke Bogiſlaus: at the treaty of Weſtphalia it was granted to Sweden.

Buthue is depoſed, and flies to Saxony.

To return to our narration: Buthue indeed was reſtored; but a reſtoration not founded in the inclinations of the people, is no longer permanent than ſupported by force. This unhappy prince continuing to ſhew his affection to his friends the Saxons, and his zeal for the Chriſtian religion, the Venedi, who held them both in execration, reſolved once more to depoſe their ſovereign. They were farther animated to take this ſtep by the avarice and extortion of the Saxons, who, upon the reſtoration of Buthue, had laid a heavy ſubſidy on his ſubjects, as an indemnity for the expences they had incurred in ſettling him on the throne. Such is too often the conduct of allies, who pretend to act thro' motives of friendſhip, at the ſame time that they are entirely governed by ſelf-intereſt and mercenary conſiderations. This unpopular ſtep made the Venedi conſider Buthue as a betrayer of their liberties, tho' their own inſurrections had been the cauſe of this calamity, by obliging him to fly to the Saxons for aſſiſtance. And now the ſpirit of ſedition had diffuſed itſelf once more through the country; and the Venedi refuſing to pay tribute to the Saxons, at the ſame time had the temerity to withdraw their allegiance from their ſovereign. The unfortunate Buthue was depoſed and baniſhed; and his only reſource was to retire to the court of Saxony, where he was again received with cordiality and friendſhip.

1074. At the time of this ſecond revolution, the dukedom of Saxony was governed by Magnus, the ſon of Ordulphus, who died in 1073. The above Magnus was the laſt of the illuſtrious family of Billung, and reſided in the city of Lunenburg. He eſpouſed

eſpouſed Sophia, daughter of Geyſa II. king of Hungary, by whom he had an only daughter and heireſs, named Wulfhild, from whom, as we have elſewhere obſerved, the preſent illuſtrious houſe of Brunſwick is deſcended. Magnus gave a moſt kind reception to Buthue, and uſed every endeavour to comfort him under his misfortunes. In the mean time, the Venedi recalled Cruco from Rugen, and once more intruſted him with the reins of government. Buthue, ſeeing no hopes of being reſtored by his own ſubjects, uſed the warmeſt ſolicitations to induce Magnus to ſupply him with a body of troops, that he might attempt by force of arms to recover his dominions. The ſpeech he made to Magnus on ſo important an occaſion, is ſaid to have been to this effect. "I need not inform you, Sir, in what manner my father Godeſcalcus conducted himſelf in the government of the Venedi, and how faithfully he diſcharged his duty, in promoting the cauſe of Chriſtianity, and in cultivating good friendſhip and harmony between the Saxon and Venedic nations. Theſe are facts that muſt be recent in your memory; and at the ſame time you cannot be inſenſible, that I have carefully ſtudied to follow my father's example, in attending to thoſe two great points, the advancement of the divine worſhip, and the improvement of your friendſhip. And yet in purſuing the latter, I could expect little more than the honour of being connected with ſo great a prince, while both you and your ſubjects reaped a conſiderable benefit from our mutual connexion. But how fatal this connection has been to my father and myſelf, the whole world can witneſs; ſince the enemies of our family made this an excuſe to juſtify their impiety in depriving him of his life, and me of my kingdom. But why do I call them only the enemies of my family? they are alſo yours, Sir, and moſt inveterate enemies to your whole nation: Therefore, if you have either your own honour, or the ſafety of your ſubjects, at heart, you muſt exert your whole ſtrength to puniſh a rebellious people, and to avenge the wrongs of an injured ſovereign. Things are now brought to a criſis; there is no time to be loſt; delays are dangerous;

" and if you do not ſpeedily arm, and put a ſtop to their pro-
" greſs, they will over-run the whole province of Nordal-
" bingia *."

1074. MAGNUS was greatly affected with this ſpeech, and indeed did not want excitement to aſſiſt the exiled prince, having already made preparations for that purpoſe, as well as to defend his ſubjects againſt the incurſions of the enemy. Yet he begged to be excuſed from conducting any troops at that time in perſon, his attention being intirely taken up with the preparations for his nuptials with the princeſs Sophia, daughter of Geyſa II. king of Hungary, and widow of Ulric of Weymar. But he promiſed to ſupport him with his whole power, as ſoon as the ceremony of his nuptials was over; and in the mean time he granted him a body of troops, to try his fortune.

He attempts once more to recover his kingdom.

BUTHUE having taken upon him the command of this corps, which conſiſted only of ſix or ſeven hundred men, croſſed the Elbe, and marched into Wagria. The firſt town he reached was that of Plone or Ploen *, pleaſantly ſituated on the great and leſſer lake of the ſame name, by which it is almoſt ſurrounded. Finding the town intirely deſerted, he entered it the ſame day, without ſuſpecting any ſtratagem on the part of the enemy; and though a Saxon woman had informed him that the Venedi intended to inveſt it the day following, ſtill he lulled himſelf into a fatal ſecurity, and gave no credit to the woman's intelligence. On the morrow the rebel army, under the command of Cruco, ſurrounded the town, and Buthue too late repented his incredulity. He was now reduced to the moſt ſhocking dilemma, that of periſhing with famine, or of ſurrendering himſelf into the hands of his rebellious ſubjects.

He is ſurprized at Ploen, and put to death.

WHILE the unhappy prince was thus intangled in an inextricable labyrinth, a ſtrong body of Holſatians marched to his relief, and, uſing the utmoſt expedition, reached a rivulet called

* Helmold. Adam Brem.

† Ploen is now ſubject to the duke of Holſtein. It is divided into the Old and New Town, and has a ducal palace, which ſtands high, and commands a beautiful proſpect.

Suale,

Suale †, which divided the Saxon territory from that of the Venedi. From hence they diſpatched a perſon who underſtood the Venedic language to enquire into the ſtrength of the enemy. But this meſſenger, on whoſe intelligence they depended, was guilty of the baſeſt treachery, and the cauſe of Buthue's deſtruction. At firſt, indeed, upon his arrival in the enemy's camp, he aſſured them that Magnus duke of Saxony was marching to Buthue's relief with a formidable army: but Cruco, ſuſpecting him to be a ſpy, took him aſide, and promiſed that if he would ingenuouſly confeſs the truth, he ſhould have a preſent of twenty marks. Upon this, the traitor revealed the whole ſecret; and at the ſame time engaged to prevail on the Holſatians to return to their reſpective habitations.

THE ſpy having thus undertaken to act ſo perfidious a part, 1074.
went over the bridge of Ploen, and being admitted into the town as a meſſenger from the Holſatians, he affirmed, in the preſence of Buthue, that his friends would not ſtir in his behalf; and that the only expedient left was to make the beſt terms he could, ſince there were no hopes of any aſſiſtance. Buthue was a prince of a moſt candid diſpoſition; he believed all mankind as ſincere as himſelf: therefore, not miſtruſting the ſpy's report, he only lamented his unhappy fate, that had thrown ſuch a number of brave men into the hands of an implacable enemy. The traitor having thus impoſed upon the unfortunate prince, returned to the Holſatians, and acquainted them, that he had ſeen Buthue and his men, who were all well and hearty at Ploen; that the town abounded with proviſions of every kind; and that there was no appearance of an enemy; nor conſequently any danger of a ſiege. Deceived by this artifice, the Holſatians marched back, and Buthue was left deſtitute of all hopes of relief.

† It riſes in the lake of Schwalebrock, not far from Bornhovede, runs as far as New Munſter, and then falls into the Stor. Danckw. p. 3.

AND

AND now the troops in the town of Ploen finding themſelves deſerted, began to think of capitulating, as the Venedi promiſed them their lives, if they would lay down their arms. Buthue uſed his utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade them from ſurrendering; but adviſed them rather to hold out ſome time longer, in expectation of ſuccours, and not to give credit to the promiſes of the Venedi, whoſe ficklenes and infidelity he had often experienced. But the Saxons ſtill inſiſted that it was more prudent to capitulate, than to perſiſt any longer in the defence of the town. Delays, they ſaid, could be of no uſe, when there was no probability of any troops marching to their aſſiſtance, and conſequently no proſpect of raiſing the ſiege. And if Buthue ſuſpected treachery in the enemy, it was far preferable to periſh by the ſword than by famine, and to be cut off at once than to linger in miſery and torment.

BUTHUE finding his men determined in their opinion, and his own advice ineffectual, was obliged to ſubmit; which he did, with the greateſt ſerenity and compoſure. He dreſſed himſelf in his gayeſt apparel, as if he were going to a nuptial ceremony, and, putting himſelf at the head of the troops, he marched over the bridge to the rebel camp: here the Saxons laid down their arms, and were conducted to Cruco's tent, like victims to the ſlaughter. At the ſame time a meſſage arrived from Ploen, acquainting Cruco that thoſe priſoners had committed the moſt horrid ravages in the town, and raviſhed all their wives and daughters; and that it would be juſtice in the Venedi to revenge themſelves, and wipe off the diſgrace which had been offered to their nation. This was all an artifice, calculated to exaſperate the minds of the rebels. Accordingly the whole army was inflamed with rage, and Cruco giving orders for putting the priſoners to death, thoſe cruel orders were inſtantly obeyed; the Venedi drew their ſwords, and, falling upon the unhappy Saxons, cut them all to pieces. Not a man was ſpared, not even Buthue: the uſurper Cruco ſingled him out for his prey, and, falling on the defenceleſs prince, whom he had already ſtripped of his kingdom, with the ſame barbarity

he

he deprived him of life. This melancholy cataſtrophe was acted in 1075 * †. 1075.

BUTHUE was married to Hildegard, the daughter of Ordulphus duke of Saxony; by whom he had two ſons, Pribiſlaus I. and Niclotus, who afterwards ſucceeded to the kingdom of the Venedi. Buthue's iſſue.

CHAP. VIII.

Containing the reign of Henry I. from 1075 to 1127.

Cruco's uſurpation and cruel government. War between Cruco and Denmark. Henry attempts to recover his paternal dominions. War between him and Cruco terminated by a treaty. Henry puts Cruco to death, and marries Slavina the tyrant's widow. Inſurrection of the Venedi. Death of the emperor Henry IV. and of Magnus duke of Saxony. War between Henry and the Rugians. War with Denmark. Death and character of Henry I.

XX. HENRY I.

The Twentieth KING of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES.

EMPERORS of GERMANY,
HENRY IV. 1056. HENRY V. 1106. LOTHARIUS II. 1125.

KINGS of ENGLAND,
WILLIAM the CONQUEROR, 1066. WILLIAM RUFUS, 1087.
HENRY I. 1100.

UPON the death of Buthue, the royal family of the Venedi was reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs. That prince's two ſons, Pribiſlaus and Niclotus, were helpleſs infants. Henry, Cruco's uſurpation and government.

* The hiſtorians of Mecklenburg commonly place this event in 1075; but it is more probable that it happened in 1072: for duke Ordulphus died in 1071; and duke Magnus, upon his acceſſion to the government, was employed about his nuptials with Sophia, the widow of Ulric Wiſmarienſis, who died in 1070.

† Helmold. Adam Brem. Albert Stad. Saxo. Gram. Krantz. Kirchberg, Beehr, Kluver, Frank, Hubner, Spener.

the younger ſon of Godeſcalcus, was in exile in Denmark; ſo that Cruco ſeemed to be firmly poſſeſſed of the throne. After the uſurper had put the Holſatians to the ſword, he marched into Nordalbingia, and laid the whole country waſte. Such was the terror of his arms, that upwards of ſix hundred families withdrew from that province to the foreſt called the Hartz, in the electorate of Hanover, where their poſterity ſubſiſt to this day; thoſe who remained at home were reduced to a ſtate of ſervitude, and obliged to pay tribute to the Venedi. Cruco's ſucceſſes were greatly owing to the diſtracted ſituation of the empire, which was then involved in a civil war.

Affairs of the empire.

The ſtates of Saxony, in concert with thoſe of Thuringia, had taken up arms againſt the emperor Henry IV. whom they accuſed of ſimony and ſeveral other crimes. The emperor ſent an army againſt them, under the command of Rodolphus duke of Suabia, who entirely routed the Saxons. This action was fought at Hohenburg near Langenſalza in Thuringia. The Saxons then ſubmitted to Henry, upon his own conditions: But the pope eſpouſing their cauſe, the quarrel was revived, and continued the remainder of that prince's reign, viz. till 1106. The Saxons being therefore engaged in war againſt the emperor, were not at liberty to ſtop the incurſions of the Venedi, or to concern themſelves in reſtoring the royal family.

1075.

War between Cruco and the Danes.

During Cruco's uſurpation, a war broke out between the Venedi and Danes, in the beginning of the reign of king Eric III. who came to the crown in 1095. He was ſon to Sweyn Eſtrittius, of whom we have made ſuch frequent mention. The pretence for this war on the ſide of the Danes was, that the Venedi had protected two famous pirates, who had been baniſhed out of Schonen for their crimes, and now continued to infeſt the ſeas and coaſts of Denmark. Eric therefore fitted out a fleet, landed in the iſle of Rugen, and inveſted the capital, which he took by ſtorm. He ordered the town to be diſmantled, and purſuing his advantages, ſtruck ſuch terror into the Venedic privateers, (on whom the Daniſh hiſtorians, according to cuſtom, confer the honourable title of pirates and thieves) that they durſt

durſt not put to ſea. Having thus ſucceeded in his expedition, he returned to his capital, where he was received with the greateſt acclamations of joy, when the Venedi ſuddenly invaded Denmark, and plundered the maritime country, in revenge for the deſtruction of their city. Incenſed at this affront, Eric raiſed another army, and landing in the country of the Venedi, committed ſuch ravages as obliged them to ſue for peace *.

Remarkable ſtory of king Eric.

OF this Eric III. king of Denmark the following extraordinary ſtory is related. A perſon, famous for his ſkill on the lyre, boaſted in the preſence of this prince, that he was able, at any time, to deprive his audience of their underſtanding by the power of muſic. Eric commanded him to exhibit a trial of his ſkill; he obeyed, and the king's paſſions were raiſed to ſuch a pitch, that in a tranſport of madneſs he flew round the apartment, and killed four ſoldiers of the guard. Upon which the muſician changed his note to a melting ſtrain, and ſoon aſſuaged the monarch's fury. Eric made all poſſible recompence to the relations of the deceaſed, and vowed a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, according to the devotion of thoſe days, in order to expiate his crime. Having prepared every thing for his journey, he declared his vow to the ſtates of Denmark, who endeavoured to make him alter his reſolution. But he continued unſhaken; and, after travelling through Greece to Conſtantinople, embarked for Cyprus, where he was ſeized with a mortal illneſs, and died ſoon after his arrival. His queen Bathilda, who attended him in this pilgrimage, was ſo greatly affected with the loſs of her huſband, that ſhe ſurvived him but a few hours, and they were both interred in the ſame grave. A rare example of conjugal love and fidelity! This happened in the year 1101. 1101.

BUT to return to the affairs of the Venedi: Cruco having triumphed over all oppoſition, had held the reins of government a conſiderable number of years; when, grown wanton in his

* Pontan.

War between Henry and Cruco,

ended by a treaty. 1105.

1105. Henry puts Cruco to death.

ſucceſſes, he began to render himſelf odious by acts of cruelty and oppreſſion. Henry, the ſon of Godeſcalcus, prince of the Venedi, thought this a proper opportunity for attempting the recovery of his hereditary dominions. After the murder of Godeſcalcus, he had fled with his mother to Denmark. Sweyn Eſtrittius was then living, and aſſigned ſome lands for the maintenance of his daughter and grandſon. During the reigns of his uncles Harold, Canute, Olaus, and Eric, Henry remained very quiet in Denmark; but being diſpoſſeſſed in 1105 of the eſtate aſſigned him by his grandfather, he was animated to recover his own patrimony, of which he had been ſo long deprived by a barbarous uſurper. For this purpoſe he equipped a ſtrong ſquadron of Danes and Venedi affected to his family, by whoſe aſſiſtance he ſcoured the whole coaſt of Vandalia, and made ſeveral deſcents in Wagria, ſo as intirely to interrupt the commerce of that province. Cruco being advanced in years, and feeling his vigour and activity decreaſe, thought proper to enter into a negociation with Henry, offering him the poſſeſſion of ſome towns and diſtricts, as a compoſition for his pretences to the crown. Thus he expected to quiet the preſent diſturbances; and if the young prince ſhould agree to the treaty, he flattered himſelf that under pretenſions of friendſhip, he ſhould be able, by treachery and ſurprize, to deprive him of life. Henry, eager to eſtabliſh himſelf on the throne, accepted the terms propoſed by Cruco, and, in conſequence thereof, a treaty was ſettled between the two princes. From that time they behaved towards each other with all the appearances of friendſhip: the treacherous Cruco eſpecially gave frequent invitations to Henry to come and ſpend ſome time at his court, intending to deſtroy him the very firſt opportunity. But Henry was prevented from falling into the ſnare by an extraordinary adventure.

CRUCO in his old age had married a young princeſs of ſingular beauty, named Slavina, daughter of Suantiborius I. prince of Pomerania. This princeſs had taken a diſlike to her huſband,

huſband, not only on account of the inequality of their years, but likewiſe for his extraordinary cruelty, of which ſhe had beheld ſeveral inſtances with regard to the princes of the Venedi. Tender in her diſpoſition, ſhe could not help commiſerating their condition, and the ſeries of deep diſtreſſes which had ſo long overwhelmed the exiled family. She had heard the higheſt character of prince Henry, which had been heightened at their firſt interview, when ſhe was greatly captivated with his perſonal accompliſhments. From that moment ſhe determined to ſave the young prince's life, to ſhake off the yoke of her barbarous huſband, and to make Henry the partner of her bed and throne. Steady to her purpoſe, ſhe contrived an opportunity of revealing to this prince the whole deſign which the tyrant had formed againſt his life, and cautioned him to be upon his guard. Henry was ſo greatly taken with this generous behaviour, as well as with the charms of his fair deliverer, that they entered immediately into the ſtricteſt connexion of love and friendſhip. The conſequence of this intimacy was, that Cruco growing every day more odious, and Henry more lovely, in the eyes of Slavina, ſhe adviſed her lover to counteract her huſband's perfidious ſcheme, and prevent his own ruin, by that of his rival. She therefore propoſed to him to invite the tyrant to an entertainment, and, when his ſenſes were drowned in wine, to bereave him of life. Henry came into the propoſal; and Cruco, notwithſtanding his age and experience, fell into the ſnare. He paid a viſit to Henry, who then reſided at Ploen; and, after the day had been ſpent in feſtivity and mirth, as Cruco, who had been intoxicated with the fumes of wine, was ſtooping his head to get out of the chamber where they had dined, a Daniſh ſervant belonging to Henry came behind the tyrant, and diſpatched him inſtantly with his ſword. 1105.

Cruco's character.

SUCH was the fate of Cruco the uſurper. He had indeed all the qualities of a tyrant, being ambitious, cruel, avaricious, and addicted to luſt; yet he was not without ſome ſhining qualities, ſuch as bravery and intrepidity, and a perfect knowledge of the art of war. The Venedi were indebted to him

him for extending their frontiers, by the addition of Holſtein, and the marquiſate of Soltwedel. He is alſo ſaid to have been the founder of the city of Lubeck; but that honour is more juſtly attributed to Godeſcalcus, for Cruco only removed the city to the ſpot where it now ſtands.

Henry marries the widow of Cruco.

No ſooner was the death of Cruco made public, than Slavina expreſſed her readineſs to perform her engagements. She accepted Henry for her huſband, and the Venedi choſe him for their king; ſo that univerſal rejoicings prevailed throughout the country. The ſame content diffuſed itſelf among all their neighbours, eſpecially the Holſatians, who had been greatly oppreſſed by this uſurper. Henry then renewed the family alliance with the Saxons, and agreed not only to reſtore Chriſtianity among his ſubjects, but to pay the ſame acknowledgments to duke Magnus as had been yielded by his anceſtors *. This ſeems to have been a very impolitic ſtep, as it was the rock on which his father and brother had ſplit, and muſt naturally have given offence to all his ſubjects: for the ſame antipathy continued between the two nations, and the ſame averſion on the ſide of the Venedi to tributes and to Chriſtianity. Hence freſh commotions aroſe, and at length his ſubjects broke out into open rebellion. The inſurgents were chiefly the Venedi of the eaſtern and ſouthern diviſions; the Obotrites, the Redarii, the Kiſſini, the Circipani, the Toloſates, who choſe for their leader a perſon known for his inveterate hatred to Chriſtianity. The name of this ringleader is not mentioned by ancient hiſtorians; but by ſome moderns he is ſuppoſed to have been Ratzo †, the ſon of Cruco. This prince made the town of Ratzeburg ſo

Inſurrection of the Venedi.

* Helmoldus ſays, Fecitque ei juramentum ſubjectionis & fidelitatis, from whence Gebhardi infers the direct dominion of the dukes of Saxony over the Slavi; but the teſtimony of Saxon writers is very ſuſpicious; and from the voluntary homage of one prince, out of policy or gratitude to his benefactor, we cannot infer that his ſucceſſor, much leſs the whole nation, were bound to perform the ſame.

† According to Gebhardi, Suantepolcus was then prince of Rugen, and held that government till the year 1130. Ratzo was ſon to this prince, and grandſon to Cruco, and lived till 1151.

ſtrong,

ſtrong, that ſeveral from thence were led into an error, and ſuppoſed him to have built that place, and called it after his own name, though it had been already erected into an epiſcopal ſee in the reign of Godeſcalcus. Ratzeburg certainly derived its name from the god Rhadegaſtus, which was afterwards abbreviated into Ratz.

HENRY, now diſpoſſeſſed of his dominions, was obliged to retire into Saxony, where he met with a moſt hoſpitable reception from duke Magnus. Senſible of the diſtreſſes of his friend, and alarmed at the danger which threatened his own dominions, from the progreſs of the neighbouring rebels, the duke immediately raiſed a large body of Saxons and Nordalbingians, with whom he marched to Henry's aſſiſtance. Theſe troops being joined by ſome faithful Venedi, under Henry's command, penetrated into the country of the Polabi, and encamped at a place called Smilowe, not far from Ratzeburg. The rebels in the mean time, hearing of the preparations of duke Magnus, had muſtered all their forces, and called in ſeveral other of the neighbouring tribes of the Venedi to their aid. The two armies came in ſight of each other; and duke Magnus, obſerving the numbers and diſpoſition of the rebels, reſolved to decline an engagement, till a reinforcement of Saxon troops, who were upon their march, could join his army. A meſſenger therefore was ſent to treat with the enemy, and the greateſt part of the day was ſpent in fruitleſs negotiation. Towards the evening the Saxon reinforcement arrived, which infuſed great ſpirits into the whole army, and the princes immediately reſolved to give battle to the rebels. The Saxons made the attack with ſuch irreſiſtible impetuoſiy, that they ſoon broke thro' the enemy's ranks, and threw their whole army into confuſion. The rebels then gave ground on all ſides, and were purſued by the victors with great ſlaughter. A circumſtance which chiefly contributed to their defeat, was the reflexion of the ſetting ſun, which dazzled their eyes to ſuch a degree, as rendered them incapable of ſeeing their enemies. The victory was complete; Henry ſubdued his rebellious ſubjects, together with

The rebels ſubdued.

with the eaſtern Venedi, who had joined them as auxiliaries. Ratzo was not only defeated in the field, but likewiſe diſlodged from his ſtrong hold of Ratzeburg, and obliged to retire to Rugen. Here he was purſued; and the Rugians, unable to ſupport him, conſented at length to accept of Waldemar, Henry's ſon, for their prince.

HENRY's power was now eſtabliſhed by the ſucceſs of his arms; faction no longer dared to raiſe her head; the eaſtern Venedi paid obeiſance to their new ſovereign; the diſturbances which had ſo long reigned among ſeveral tribes were quelled; and the whole nation was happy under the wiſe adminiſtration of this monarch. The public tranquility being eſtabliſhed, Henry ſeemed ambitious of introducing the civil arts of life, into a country that had long been the ſcene of ſlaughter and confuſion. As he determined to fix his reſidence in Wagria, on account of its being the neareſt province to Saxony; the city of Lubeck, which had been lately founded by Godeſcalcus, ſeemed moſt proper for his capital: but diſliking its ſituation, or for ſome other cauſe, he ordered it to be deſtroyed, and built another of the ſame name on the banks of the Schwartow: this was afterwards called Old Lubeck, and there he chiefly reſided. What is very remarkable, it was the only place in the whole country that had then the privilege of a Chriſtian church. He reſigned Soltwedel to duke Magnus, in return for that prince's friendly aſſiſtance. During theſe tranſactions, no mention is made of his nephews, the ſons of Buthue, and the lawful heirs to the crown. Some, without any authority, ſuppoſe them to have reſigned their right, and to have been ſatisfied with a portion of land, which had been aſſigned for their maintenance.

Death of the emperor Henry IV.

ABOUT this time died the famous emperor Henry IV. of that name, an extraordinary inſtance of the inconſtancy of fortune. He had been reduced from the higheſt pitch of human grandeur to the loweſt degree of miſery, being ſolemnly depoſed by his ſubjects, deprived of ſuſtenance, and abandoned by his own

ſon,

ſon, his relations, and even thoſe whom he had loaded with favours. To complete his misfortunes, he had been cloſely confined by order of his own ſon Henry V. who was choſen emperor in his ſtead: but he found means to eſcape to Cologne, and from thence to Liege, whence he ſent circular letters to all the princes in Europe, to excite them to pity. Being reduced to the laſt extremity, he entreated the biſhop of Spire, whom he had raiſed to that ſee, to grant him a canonicate for his ſubſiſtence, in that very cathedral which had been founded and endowed by his anceſtors and himſelf. He aſſured the biſhop he was capable of performing his duty, as he knew how to read, and had learnt to ſing. But meeting with a repulſe, he burſt into tears, and addreſſing himſelf to thoſe who were about him, "My dear friends, at leaſt have pity on my condition; for I "am touched by the hand of the Lord!" Thus abandoned by all the world, he died at Liege, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, and the forty-ninth of his reign. He was interred in the cathedral of that city; but his body was afterwards dug up, by order of the pope, becauſe of his excommunication, and there lay unburied five years, till 1111, when his ſon the emperor Henry V. having alſo quarrelled with the ſee of Rome, ordered it to be buried at Spire in the tombs of the emperors *.

1106. Death of Magnus duke of Saxony.

THIS year alſo died Magnus, the laſt duke of Saxony of the houſe of Billung. He left no iſſue, but two daughters: the eldeſt, Wulfhild, married Henry Welf duke of Bavaria, to whom ſhe brought the allodial eſtate of her family, in which was included the duchy of Lunenburg. The dukedom of Saxony was granted to Lotharius count of Suplenburg and Querfurt, of the ſame family as the princes of Mansfeld. Lotharius gave the inveſtiture of the county of Holſtein, then dependent on the duchy of Saxony, to Adolphus of Salingſleben, count of Schaumburg. Under Frederic I. Holſtein became an immediate fief of the empire, and fell to the houſe of Oldenburg, by means of Hedwige, heireſs of the houſe of Holſtein,

* Heiſſe, Pfeffel, &c.

and of count Adolphus: her ſon was Chriſtian I. king of Denmark, from whom the preſent great houſes of Denmark, Sweden, and Ruſſia, are deſcended *.

1106. War with the Rugians.

BUT to return to the affairs of Vandalia: the Rugians being highly diſſatisfied that their princes had been diveſted of the ſovereignty, broke out into an open rebellion. Theſe people were ſtrongly attached to idolatry, being poſſeſſed of the great temple of Rhadegaſtus, which, by the ſeveral tribes of the Venedi, was conſidered as the chief ſeat of their religion. Henry's reſidence being then at Old Lubeck, they formed a ſcheme to ſurprize that prince, and carry him off in triumph. Should the attempt be crowned with ſucceſs, they had nothing leſs in view than to make themſelves maſters of Wagria and all Nordalbingia. With theſe hopes, they equipped a ſtrong ſquadron, and ſailing up the Trave, ſuddenly inveſted the town. Henry was ſurprized at ſo unexpected an attempt, yet behaved with ſingular prudence: As the garriſon was weak, he did not think proper to hazard his perſon in a ſiege, but ſent for the commanding officer, and acquainted him with his reſolution of withdrawing from the town, on purpoſe to aſſemble a body of troops for its relief. In the mean time, he ordered him to make the moſt vigorous defence, and promiſed in a few days to appear on a neighbouring eminence, and that with what forces he could collect he ſhould certainly attempt to raiſe the ſiege. This ſaid, he withdrew from Lubeck by night, attended only by two officers; and retiring into the neighbouring country of Holſatia, he acquainted the inhabitants with the daring enterprize of the Rugians. Immediately, the whole country was up in arms, and the Holſatians moſt chearfully flocked to his aſſiſtance. As ſoon as he had muſtered a ſufficient number of forces, he uſed no delay, but marched with the utmoſt celerity to the relief of Lubeck. Intending, however, to conceal his motions from the enemy, he ordered his men to obſerve a profound ſilence; and upon his arrival within a proper diſtance of the town, he repaired to the eminence he had mentioned,

* Heiſſe, Pfeffel, &c.

tioned, in order to ſhew himſelf to the commander of the garriſon. The appearance of their ſovereign greatly raiſed the drooping ſpirits of the beſieged, who had been alarmed with a falſe report of his having fallen into the hands of the Rugians. Henry perceiving the place to be hard preſſed, and the enemy ſtrongly poſted, reſolved to act with caution. Inſtead of marching directly up to the town, he changed his plan, and led his troops towards the mouth of the river Trave, where a body of the enemy's horſe was expected to land. The Rugians before Lubeck, ſeeing a number of troops near the ſea-ſide, imagined them to be their own cavalry; which induced them to quit their ſhips with joy, in order to receive ſo agreeable a reinforcement. But as ſoon as they approached within a ſufficient diſtance, the Holſatians raiſed a loud ſhout, and falling ſword in hand upon the affrighted Rugians, drove them back to their ſhips with terrible ſlaughter. The number of the enemy that periſhed by the ſword on this occaſion was very conſiderable; and, to complete their misfortune, as many were drowned. The dead bodies made a great pile, or mount, which is ſtill extant, and in honour of this victory was called Runiberg; and the commemoration thereof is celebrated every year on the firſt of Auguſt.

The conſequences of this victory were prodigious: the Rugians became ſubject to Henry, as well as the Polabi, the Obotrites, the Kiſſini, the Circipani, the Luticii, the Pomerani, and, in ſhort, all the Venedic nations between the Elbe and the Viſtula. This prince's dominions extended over that whole tract of land, and he was honoured with the title of king of all the Venedi and the Nordalbingians. He had not only the ſovereignty over the Venedi along the banks of the Baltic; but the Brizerani and Stoderani *, who inhabited the middle Marck, were alſo made ſubject to his juriſdiction. The enſuing year, the Brizerani and Stoderani having preſumed to rebel, Henry marched an army againſt them, and laid ſiege to Havelburg. 1107.

* The inhabitants of Havelburg and Brandenburg.

During the ſiege, Miſtue, a ſon of Henry, fired with military ardor, and being apprized that there was a people in the neighbourhood, who inhabited a fruitful diſtrict, and were named Lini or Linoges ‡, reſolved to reduce them to reaſon, by a ſecret expedition, even unknown to his father. For this purpoſe, he took a detachment of two hundred Saxons, and three hundred Venedi, all choſen men, and abſented himſelf from the camp for two days, as if he was going upon a journey; then traverſing woods and lakes, he fell upon the Lini unawares, made a great number of them priſoners, and carried off a conſiderable booty. The news of this expedition being ſpread through the adjacent country, the ſeveral inhabitants roſe up in arms, and aſſembling in a body, endeavoured to oppoſe the young prince in his return, and to reſcue their friends and countrymen out of his hands. The troops under Miſtue finding themſelves ſurrounded, diſplayed the utmoſt marks of valour, and making a virtue of neceſſity, cut their way through the Lini, numbers of whom they took priſoners, together with their leader. Thus loaded with ſpoils, theſe gallant men returned ſafe to Henry, who was particularly pleaſed with the bravery and ſucceſs of his ſon. In a few days the enemy deſired to capitulate *, and the king being ready to forgive them upon making a proper ſubmiſſion, and giving hoſtages, the rebellion was quelled †.

1113. Second war with the Rugians.

THE public tranquillity had now been reſtored for ſome time, and the country of Vandalia had enjoyed the ſweets of induſtry and peace, when freſh diſturbances aroſe in the iſle of Rugen, which proved a ſource of infinite trouble to Henry, and embittered the end of his reign. His ſon, prince Waldemar, had been appointed governor of that iſland ever ſince the laſt

‡ They were a branch of the Wilzi.

* According to Buckholtz, beſides the taking of Havelburg, he fought a battle with thoſe people in the neighbourhood of Ruppin, where he obtained a complete victory, which coſt him, however, dear, as his ſon Miſtue fell in the engagement. But I do not find ſuch an account in Helmoldus, or any other ancient author.

† Helmold. c. 37.

defeat

defeat of Ratzo * the Rugian prince, and behaved with great prudence in the diſcharge of his office. But however mild the adminiſtration, dependancy is a ſtate to which all nations have a natural averſion. The Rugians were highly diſpleaſed with their ſubjection to the Obotrites, and reſolved to withdraw the annual tribute which they paid to king Henry. The ſpirit of revolt diffuſed itſelf through the whole iſland: the inhabitants roſe up in arms, and, in the wantonneſs of their fury, barbarouſly maſſacred their governor, prince Waldemar. The news of this revolt, added to the unhappy cataſtrophe of his ſon, gave infinite concern to the king. Determining, however, to wreak his vengeance on thoſe people, he levied a conſiderable army of Venedi, and undertook an expedition againſt the iſle of Rugen. He was followed by a body of Saxons to the number of 1600, who, merely from affection, choſe to liſt under his banners. The Saxon troops croſſed the Trave, and marched through the country of the Polabi and the Obotrites, till they reached the river Peene, which they likewiſe paſſed, and from thence advanced to the town of Wolgaſt †. Here it was that Henry waited to join them, and immediately after they pitched their tents not far from the ſea-ſide.

THE next day the king reviewed the whole army, and made a 1113.
ſpeech to the Saxons, ſignifying that he was greatly obliged to them for their conſtant marks of benevolence and affection: that he had often experienced their fidelity in the worſt of times and the greateſt of dangers, where they had nothing to expect but glory, while he reaped the whole benefit from their ſervices. But that they had never given him ſtronger marks of affection than on the preſent occaſion, when they ſhewed themſelves ſo ready to join him in avenging the murder of his ſon: that he ſhould be ever mindful of the favour, and endeavour to de-

* Ratzo is ſaid to have been ſtripped of all princely honours, and to have died in a private condition.

† Helmoldus ſays, that ſome called it Alba Julia, from the founder Julius Cæſar; but he is miſtaken, for Julius Cæſar never croſſed the Elbe.

ſerve the continuance of their friendſhip: that he muſt in confidence acquaint them of his having received a meſſage from the Rugians in the night, with the propoſal of an accommodation, for which thoſe people were ready to pay two hundred marks †; but that he would do nothing without their advice. The Saxons generouſly made anſwer, That they were but a handful of men; and their purſuit was glory, not money: that they were ſurprized he ſhould think of compounding with the murderers of his ſon for pecuniary conſiderations: that they were againſt his accepting of any fine, or making any agreement with the rebels: that they were ready to lay down their lives to avenge the injured manes of the deceaſed prince; concluding, that they had not left their wives, their children, their country, to be derided by the enemy, or to intail diſgrace and infamy on their poſterity; that he might lead them on, and he would find they had placed their greateſt happineſs in an honourable death ‡.

1113. HENRY being encouraged by ſo ſpirited a declaration, marched with the Saxons to the ſea-ſide, where the Venedic army, which was very numerous, expected his orders. It was then the middle of winter; and the froſt being ſet in, that narrow paſſage from the continent to the iſle of Rugen was frozen over. This was the opportunity that he expected, when the troops might march upon the ice, and the enemy reap no benefit from their armed veſſels. The Saxons, according to the cuſtom of their country, deſired the poſt of honour, which is, to lead the van in an attack, and the rear in a retreat. The king granted their requeſt, and the whole army advanced. Henry on this occaſion did not think proper to intruſt his perſon among the Venedi *, but put himſelf at the head of the Saxons. The troops continued marching on the ice the whole

† It was the cuſtom of the Goths to puniſh murder by fines. See the Spirit of Laws, book xxviii. ‡ Helmold. c. 38.

* This ſeems very ſurprizing; perhaps it was on account of the difference in religion, which made him apprehend they might favour the Rugians.

day,

day, and towards evening reached the iſland of Rugen. Upon their arrival they ſet fire to the villages near the ſhore, and Henry ſent out his ſcouts for intelligence: theſe ſoon returned with advice that the rebels were upon their march to attack him.

THE king being apprized of the motions of the enemy, ordered his men to halt, and addreſſed himſelf to them in the following terms: "I am very ſenſible, my friends and fellow-"ſoldiers, that you have little occaſion for words to excite your "courage on the preſent occaſion. The neceſſity of our pre-"ſent ſituation obliges us to fight. We are environed on "every ſide by the ſea, with enemies before and behind "us, and there is no poſſibility of retreating. Our only "hope is in victory. It is out of our power to decline "the engagement; therefore let us place our confidence in "the Lord our God, and behave like men, like ſoldiers: for "our fate this day muſt be either to die in the bed of ho-"nour, or to triumph over the Rugians." This ſaid, the whole army gave a loud ſhout, in approbation of Henry's ſpeech, and advanced towards the enemy. The Rugians, obſerving the great order in which the king's forces were drawn up, appeared greatly diſmayed, and ſent their chief prieſt to offer eight hundred marks towards purchaſing a peace. The troops beginning to murmur at this report, and deſiring to be led on againſt the enemy, the prieſt proſtrated himſelf at Henry's feet, and ſpoke to him thus: "Let not our ſovereign lord any longer continue "his indignation againſt his ſlaves. Behold, our country is in-"tirely in his hands; let him do whatever he pleaſes with it. "We are all at his mercy; whatever burden he thinks proper to "lay upon us, we are determined chearfully to bear it." Henry was ſoftened with this ſubmiſſion; and thinking it more politic to puniſh the Rugians by a fine, than drive them to deſpair, he entered into a treaty with the prieſt for ſettling the compoſition. The reſult was, the Rugians agreed to give hoſtages for paying

four

four thouſand four hundred marks, and the king withdrew from thence with his army.

HENRY, ſoon after his return to Lubeck, ſent an officer to Rugen to receive the money, according to the terms of the late treaty; but the inhabitants had rendered themſelves anſwerable for too great a ſum. The Rugians at that time did not make uſe of ſpecie in the way of commerce, but the ſeveral commodities brought to market were purchaſed with linen *. With regard to the gold and ſilver which they acquired by their cruizes or other methods, they employed it either in ornaments for their wives, or in embelliſhing the temples of their gods. The king, diſpleaſed with this intelligence, inſiſted upon their diſcharging the obligation in plate. The Rugians, apprehenſive of his farther indignation, agreed; but when they came to weigh all the gold and ſilver in the country, allotted to public or private uſes, the whole ſcarce amounted to half the money.

Third war with the Rugians.

CHAGRINED at this diſappointment, Henry reſolved upon another expedition to the iſle of Rugen; for which he made the moſt formidable preparations. A body of auxiliary Saxons, under the command of duke Lotharius, joined him on this occaſion; and the combined army, in the depth of winter, marched over the ice into the iſle of Rugen. The ruin of thoſe unhappy people ſeemed to be now at hand, and nothing leſs than their total extirpation was apprehended; when a ſudden incident baffled Henry's attempt, and prevented the Rugians from feeling the effects of his indignation. The allied army had been above three nights in the iſland, during which time the inhabitants were preparing for a vigorous defence, when the weather began to change; and a thaw coming on, Henry judged it adviſable to make the beſt of his way back over the ice, leſt in caſe of any unproſperous ſtroke of fortune he ſhould not have it in his power to retreat, being quite unprovided with tranſports.

* Helmoldus ſays, panno lineo; but whether he means that linen was given in exchange for thoſe commodities, or that they made uſe of linen, as ſome other nations have of leather, as a repreſentation, I am not able to determine.

Thus

Thus were the Rugians preſerved this time from ruin; and the Saxons having narrowly eſcaped being drowned, as the ice gave way in their return, would never after reſume the expedition. Probably a treaty enſued between Henry and the Rugians; for we hear no more of them during this prince's reign *.

1115. War with Denmark.

HENRY after his return from the Rugian expedition, finding himſelf diſentangled from domeſtic diſturbances, began to think of recovering his mother's portion †, which had been withheld from him by his uncle Nicholas king of Denmark. In order to explain the nature of this diſpute, it will be proper to trace it to its ſource, and to point out the original foundation of Henry's pretenſions. Sweyn Eſtrittius king of Denmark left ſix ſons behind him, and one daughter, named Syritha, who was married to Godeſcalcus, Henry's father. The ſons were, Canute IV. or the Saint; Harold the Simple; Bennet, who was ſlain with his brother Canute; Olaus V. called Famelicus, becauſe of a famine that afflicted Denmark in his time; Eric III. ſurnamed the Good; and the above-mentioned Nicholas. When Sweyn perceived himſelf drawing near his end, he ſummoned all the nobility, and obliged them to promiſe that they would chuſe his eldeſt ſon for their king, and after him the next ſurviving brother. In conſequence of which, five of his ſons (that is, all except Bennet, who was killed in a church with his brother St. Canute) ſucceſſively arrived at the regal dignity; an inſtance hardly to be paralleled in hiſtory. When Nicholas firſt aſcended the throne of Denmark, his conduct met with great applauſe; but he ſoon degenerated from the virtues of his anceſtors, and fell into the loweſt contempt. The badneſs of his adminiſtration brought heavy calamities upon himſelf and his people, which had their

1107.

* I have followed Gebhardi in regard to the date of this expedition; but it ſeems to be contradicted by Helmoldus, who ſays that Henry happening to die very ſoon after this miſcarriage, the diſpute was at an end. From hence one would imagine that the Rugian expedition was his laſt, and had been preceded by the Daniſh war, of which we are going to treat next.

† Gebhardi's reaſon for placing this war in the year 1115 is, becauſe the hiſtory of Denmark, attributed to king Eric, ſays poſitively, that Canute was made duke this year, which muſt be underſtood of the duchy of Sleſwick.

firſt riſe from his deſpoiling Henry of his mother Syritha's fortune. This prince was ſo exaſperated at ſuch baſe treatment, that he determined to have recourſe to arms for the recovery of his rights *.

1115. In order to ſupport his pretenſions, he concluded an alliance with the Nordalbingi or Holſatians, and putting himſelf at the head of a ſtrong army, he carried all before him like a torrent, and ſoon penetrated into the duchy of Sleſwick. Nicholas, then reſiding in that province, was under a neceſſity of doubling his guards, and of providing for the ſecurity of the city. With this view he ordered Elive, a Daniſh nobleman, to uſe the utmoſt expedition in bringing troops from ſeveral parts of his dominions; but the perfidious Elive had entered into a treaſonable correſpondence with Henry to betray his royal maſter. For this purpoſe he continued to retard the march of the troops as much as poſſible, in order to facilitate Henry's operations. In the mean time he ſent repeated expreſſes to Nicholas with feigned excuſes for his delay. The infantry being at length arrived, Elive perſuaded Nicholas to venture an engagement. The conſequence was, that the Daniſh infantry were thrown into confuſion by Henry's horſe, and Nicholas obliged to fly precipitately into Denmark, not without a conſiderable loſs in his retreat. The Daniſh monarch diſcovered Elive's perfidy when it was too late; however, he confiſcated his eſtate, and deprived him of all his employments, looking upon an ignominious poverty as the ſevereſt puniſhment that could be inflicted on a traitor. His fear on this occaſion was ſo great, that he made a vow to faſt the vigil of St. Lawrence, which was long after obſerved.

HENRY, elated with his victory, made farther advances into the Daniſh territories between Sleſwick and Dannewerk, and ravaged all the ſea-coaſt, but miſcarried in his attempt upon Sleſwick. For Canute, the ſon of Eric the late king, and nephew to Nicholas, as alſo couſin-german to Henry, deeply affected with the hardſhips which the duchy of Sleſwick underwent from the

* Pontan. Saxo, &c.

conti-

continuation of this war, applied to the king for the government of a country, which had been refuſed by many of the nobility, on account of its being a frontier province. Having with great difficulty obtained it, he entered upon his office, and began with offering conditions of peace to Henry: theſe were, to indemnify the duchy of Sleſwick for the damages it had ſuſtained, and the king of Denmark for his expences incurred during the war. Senſible that Henry's ſucceſſes would render him too haughty to accept ſuch propoſals, all he aimed at was to amuſe that prince with negociations, till he had ripened matters for an expedition of great ſecrecy and importance. Having aſſembled his troops, he advanced with the utmoſt ſilence, in the middle of the night, to a caſtle ſituate on the frontiers of Sleſwick, where Henry had fixed his head-quarters. The place was ſurrounded before this prince had received any intelligence of Canute's approach; when finding himſelf too weak to attempt a defence, he mounted his horſe, and eſcaped by a private path, leaving the caſtle to be plundered by the enemy.

THE ſucceſs of this expedition gave an amazing turn to the Daniſh affairs, and threw a ſudden damp upon the ſpirits of the Venedi. Canute exhibited a very ſtrong ſpecimen of his ſkill in the art of war; and Henry, by ſuffering himſelf to be ſurprized, loſt ſome reputation. His troops being ſeparated in different quarters, were beaten in detail, and obliged at length to evacuate the duchy of Sleſwick. Henry however was not diſmayed with theſe loſſes; but having received a ſtrong reinforcement, he reſolved to act with more caution, and if poſſible to protract the war, by tiring out the Danes with ſlight ſkirmiſhes. Canute, impatient of delays, and deſirous of bringing matters to an iſſue, muſtered all his forces, and determined to carry the war into the enemy's country. The Daniſh army had now penetrated into Vandalia, ſpreading terror and deſolation wherever it approached, when Henry was excited by the calamities of his ſubjects to venture a deciſive engagement. The two armies, in imitation of their leaders, diſplayed extraordinary feats of valour: the victory remained for ſome

time undecided; but fortune at length turned her back upon Henry. In conſequence of this reverſe, he found himſelf obliged to ſue for peace; and Canute moſt generouſly granted it. The two princes had an interview on this occaſion, when embracing each other with tenderneſs, after a ſhort conference, they ſettled, without the tedious formality of miniſters, the terms of the treaty: theſe were, that Henry ſhould relinquiſh his claim to his mother's eſtate, and accept of a ſum of money as an equivalent. From that moment the two princes contracted a friendſhip for each other, which laſted the remainder of their lives *.

DURING theſe tranſactions, Suentepolcus prince of the Rugians prevailed on the Kiſſini, who were lords of Roſtock, to throw off their allegiance to Henry. For it is very certain that
1121. in the year 1121 the Kiſſini were ſubject to Suentepolcus, neither could they be compelled afterwards by Lotharius duke of Saxony to return under the authority of their old maſter. The remainder of Henry's reign was ſpent chiefly in promoting the cauſe of religion, for which he had an extraordinary zeal; but his zeal was tempered by prudence, which taught him to abſtain from all acts of perſecution and violence. Chriſtianity, however, made no great progreſs during his life; for it ſcarce extended farther than the gates of Lubeck, neither was there either a church or prieſt in any other part of the country.

1125. THIS year died the emperor Henry V. at Utrecht, without
Affairs of the empire. iſſue male, and was the laſt of the houſe of Franconia. After his acceſſion to the crown, he had uſed his utmoſt endeavours to maintain the majeſty of the empire againſt pontifical incroachments. As ſoon as he had ſettled his affairs in Germany, he
1110. marched to Rome with an army, to aſſert the ancient rights of the emperors to inveſtitures, or the collation of benefices with the ſtaff and ring. Pope Paſchal II. raiſed ſuch diſturbances among the Romans, that the emperor's perſon was in danger. However, he gained the ſuperiority, ſeized the pope, and com-

* Saxo, Meurs. Pontan.

pelled

pelled him to ſign whatever he deſired. But no ſooner was the emperor departed from Italy, than the pope declared the treaty void. At the ſame time he ſtirred up the Saxons to a revolt; this artifice was continued by his ſucceſſor pope Calixtus II. and proved effectual. Henry finding it in vain to contend any longer, came to an accommodation, and yielded up the long conteſted right of inveſtitures, in 1122. Upon Henry's death, the princes of the empire choſe Lotharius II. duke of Saxony to ſucceed him *. 1122.

TOWARDS the cloſe of king Henry's reign, Wicelinus, who was afterwards ſurnamed the Apoſtle of the Venedi, made his appearance in that country, by the command of Adelbert biſhop of Hamburgh, and applied to Henry for leave to preach the goſpel to his ſubjects. This prince received him with great kindneſs, and afforded him all manner of encouragement, ſo as to aſſign him a church for the performing of divine ſervice. But the prieſt having occaſion to make a journey to Saxony, in order to ſettle his private affairs, Henry was taken ill before his return, and reſigned his laſt breath in 1127. Before his death his friendſhip for Canute made him take a very extraordinary ſtep, which was, to bequeath the crown to that prince, in failure of his own iſſue. This was a very unjuſt ſettlement, being an invaſion of the rights of his nephews, the two ſons of Buthue, and highly prejudicial to the royal family. 1126. Death of Henry. 1127.

HENRY was a prince whoſe great courage and abilities contributed to raiſe the glory of the whole nation of the Venedi. He was open, ſincere, and generous, which gained him the affection of his ſubjects, whoſe happineſs he endeavoured to promote. He uſed his proſperity with moderation, and bore adverſe fortune with the greateſt philoſophy. He was poſſeſſed of moſt accompliſhments of body and mind, that are capable of conciliating love, or commanding eſteem. But his connection and marriage with Slavina throws a blemiſh on his character, which ſome are apt to overlook from political conſi- His character.

* Heiſſe, Barre, Pfeffel.

derations.

derations. He is alſo taxed with avarice in his tranſactions with the Rugians, where he was ſo mean as to accept of a pecuniary compenſation for the murder of his ſon. The bequeathing of the crown, in failure of his own iſſue, to Canute duke of Sleſwick, in prejudice to his nephews, Buthue's children, is another great ſtain on his memory; neither can it be excuſed by any conſent of thoſe princes, ſince ſuch conſent, if ever obtained, muſt have been involuntary, and extorted from them in a ſtate of ſubjection.

He married, as before hath been obſerved, Slavina, widow of the tyrant Cruco, by whom he is ſaid to have had five ſons; Waldemar, murdered by the Rugians, Godfrey *, Miſtevoy, ſlain in battle before his father's deceaſe, Suentepolcus, and Canute, who ſucceeded him †.

* This prince is not mentioned by Helmoldus. Henry's three firſt ſons muſt have been by a former wife, though not mentioned by hiſtorians. This is evident in regard to Miſtevoy and Waldemar; for he did not eſpouſe Slavina till 1105; now Miſtevoy ſubdued the Linoges in 1107, and Waldemar was ſlain by the Rugians in 1115; therefore they could not be the ſons of Slavina.

† Helmold. Krantz. Beehr, Buckholtz.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Containing the reigns of Suentepolcus, Canute I. Suinike, and Canute II. kings of the Venedi and Obotrites, from 1127 to 1131.

Quarrel between the two brothers, Suentepolcus and Canute. Death of the latter. State of Chriſtianity among the Venedi. Hiſtory of the miſſionary Wicelinus. Death of Suentepolcus. Short reign of Suinike. Affairs of Denmark. Canute II. takes poſſeſſion of the kingdom of the Venedi, and yields homage to the emperor Lotharius. Encourages the Chriſtian religion. His lamentable cataſtrophe.

XXI. SUENTEPOLCUS, the Twenty-firſt KING,
XXII. CANUTE I. the Twenty-ſecond KING,
XXIII. SUINIKE, the Twenty-third KING,
XXIV. CANUTE II. the Twenty-fourth KING,

Of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES.

EMPEROR of GERMANY, LOTHARIUS II. 1125.

KINGS of ENGLAND,

HENRY I. 1100. STEPHEN, 1135.

AFTER the death of king Henry, the power of the Venedi, which had riſen to ſo high a pitch, began to decline; and his children, by their diviſions and ill conduct, loſt the greateſt part of what their father had acquired by his arms. As they were under age at this prince's demiſe, he had provided againſt the inconveniences of a minority, by appointing his friend Canute their guardian, to whom he alſo bequeathed, in failure of his own iſſue, the ſucceſſion of the kingdom. Canute accepted the care of the young princes; but was far from acting in that capacity with all the diſintereſtedneſs which the confidence

of

of his friend and the advantage of his pupils ſeemed naturally to require. One of the firſt ſteps he took was to put them under the protection of the empire, by making them pay homage to Lotharius; which could not but be highly offenſive to the whole nation of the Venedi. His view in this proceeding ſeems to have been that of ingratiating himſelf with the emperor, and of paving the way for his own ſucceſſion to the Venedic throne. He is alſo ſuſpected of fomenting the diviſions which afterwards broke out between the two brothers Suentepolcus and Canute, and terminated in the ruin of Henry's family. Nothing can be a ſtronger proof of the ill policy of princes, in committing the guardianſhip of their children to thoſe who have no intereſt in their preſervation. The character of the Daniſh prince Canute is, in other reſpects, one of the moſt amiable in hiſtory; and yet neither the generoſity of his temper, nor the integrity of his mind, ſeem to have been ſufficient proof againſt this powerful temptation.

Quarrel between the two brothers.

THE young princes being now arrived at a ſufficient maturity of age, Suentepolcus took the reins of government into his own hands. But his younger brother Canute claimed a part of the adminiſtration, and founded his pretenſions on his father's will *, by which that prince was ſaid to have divided his dominions between his two ſons. Suentepolcus aſſerted his right of primogeniture, and determined to exclude Canute from any ſhare of the ſovereignty. The diſpute was carried on with great warmth, as is generally the caſe in matters of ambition and intereſt, where the ties of conſanguinity are ſeldom regarded. Suentepolcus having the power in his hands, uſed his brother with ſome ſeverity; and this was productive of bickerings, which terminated at length in an open war. Canute, being unable to contend the point in the field, withdrew to the town of Ploen, where he reſolved to maintain his lawful rights. All hopes of accommodation having vaniſhed, Suentepolcus applied to the Holſatians for their aſſiſtance, in order to quell the party

* Helmoldus mentions no ſuch will, but inſinuates that Canute's pretenſions were well founded, which ſeems to imply a teſtamentary diſpoſition in his favour.

which

that had eſpouſed his brother's cauſe, and reduce them to obedience. The Holſatians having been miſinformed of the affair, and apprehending Canute to have commenced hoſtilities, readily complied with Suentepolcus's requeſt. No ſooner had this prince received a reinforcement of troops from that nation, than he directed his march towards Ploen, and laid ſiege to this fortreſs. Canute obſerving the place ſurrounded by ſo formidable an army, ordered his people not to annoy the beſiegers with their arrows, till he had tried whether it was poſſible to procure an accommodation. In this diſpoſition he mounted the ramparts, and from thence addreſſed himſelf in theſe words to the Holſatians:

"I HUMBLY crave your attention, O ye gallant men, whom "I behold aſſembled in ſuch crowds from all parts of Holſatia. "I confeſs myſelf totally ignorant of the motive, which could "have induced you thus to take up arms againſt your friend and "ally. Am not I the brother of Suentepolcus? Are we not "both children of one father? and are we not both heirs to "his eſtate? Under what pretence then, or colour of juſtice, "does my brother endeavour to drive me into exile, and ex-"clude me from my natural right? I have a better opinion "of your integrity than to think you will join in ſo unjuſt an "undertaking, or make uſe of force to oppreſs the innocent. "I would adviſe you therefore to reflect on the conſequence "of your preſent meaſures; and as you are men of humanity, "let me entreat you rather to make uſe of your intereſt to pre-"vail on my brother to do me juſtice, and allow me a ſhare of "my father's inheritance."

THIS artleſs laconic ſpeech made a deep impreſſion on the beſiegers; ſo that Suentepolcus perceiving them averſe from a continuance of hoſtilities, a treaty of reconciliation was ſettled, and the country of the Venedi was equally divided between the two brothers. But this reconciliation ſeems to have been inſincere on the ſide of Suentepolcus: the loſs of part of his dominions rendered him inſenſible to all the feelings of nature, and

1130. Canute was ſoon after ſlain in Lutilinburg, an ancient town in Wagria, as is ſuppoſed by his brother's orders.

SUENTEPOLCUS being now ſole ſovereign of the Venedi, fixed his reſidence at Lubeck, his favourite city. He had attained to the ſummit of his wiſhes, having no longer a rival brother to ſhare his throne; when intelligence was brought him, that the inhabitants of the country in the neighbourhood of the town of Werle had broke out into open rebellion. Werle was ſituated near the modern village of Warnow, upon the banks of a river of the ſame name, on the borders of the principality of Wenden. Their motives for this inſurrection are not mentioned by hiſtorians; but the rebel army muſt have been very numerous, ſince Suentepolcus was obliged to call in Adolphus count of Schaumburg to his aſſiſtance. The count having joined him with a large body of Holſatians and Stormarians, they marched forward, and laid ſiege to Werle. After they had made themſelves maſters of this place, they reſumed their march, and ſat down before the capital of the Kiſſini *. The ſiege of this town laſted five weeks; but at length it was obliged to ſubmit. Suentepolcus having taken hoſtages for the performance of the capitulation, returned to Lubeck, and the Holſatians to their reſpective habitations.

SCARCE had Suentepolcus finiſhed this expedition, when he received a viſit from Wicelinus, an eccleſiaſtic, of whom mention has been made in king Henry's reign, and who was now come to ſolicit the performance of that prince's promiſe in favour of the Chriſtian religion. As Wicelinus is generally ſtiled the Apoſtle of the Venedi, and his memory is ſtill revered in that country, it will not be foreign from our ſubject to give ſome account of his life.

History of Wicelinus.

WICELINUS was born in the diſtrict of Minden in Weſtphalia, and in the town of Hamel upon the banks of the Weſer. His parents were in no great circumſtances, but able however to ſend their ſon to Minden, in order to learn the rudi-

* Now the village of Kiffini, ſituated ſouth of Roſtock.

ments

ments of the canons of that cathedral. In his youth he was very much addicted to levity, which hindered his making an early progreſs in his ſtudies; but he afterwards removed to Paderborn, where he made up his loſt time, and applied himſelf to letters with the greateſt aſſiduity. His progreſs in virtue kept equal pace with his literary improvements, which recommended him to the archbiſhop of Bremen, who intruſted him with the direction of the public ſchool of that city. This duty he diſcharged for ſome time with punctuality; but deſirous of making a farther advancement in the ſciences, he reſigned that ſchool, and went to complete his ſtudies at Paris: there he reſided three years, and acquired great reputation for his piety and learning. Upon his return to Germany, he preſented himſelf to Norbert archbiſhop of Magdeburg, founder of the order of Premonſtratenſes, by whom he was ordained prieſt. Hearing of the character of the late king Henry, and of his being diſpoſed to encourage the propagation of Chriſtianity, he offered his ſervice to Adelbert archbiſhop of Bremen to preach the goſpel among the Venedi. The archbiſhop commended his zeal, and gave him leave to take Rudolphus, a canon of Hildeſheim, and Ludolphus, a canon of Verden, to aſſiſt him on that religious expedition. Accordingly they repaired to Lubeck, and waited on Henry, who, as we have already mentioned, received them with affability, and gave them free permiſſion to act as they ſhould judge proper in the diſcharge of their miſſion. Pleaſed with this proſperous beginning, they returned to Saxony, in order to ſettle their family affairs, and then devote themſelves intirely to the ſervice of the Venedi. But hearing of Henry's death, and the civil war that enſued between his two ſons, they were prevented from returning till the troubles in that country ſubſided. In the mean time Wicelinus was nominated by the archbiſhop Adelbert to the church of Faldera in Holſatia. This place has been diſtinguiſhed by three different names: by the Holſatians it was called Wippendorp, perhaps from Wippo its founder: the Venedi gave it the name of Faldera; and it afterwards took that of

New Munſter (Novum Monaſterium) which it retains to this day. Wicelinus found a wooden chapel here, that had been long neglected; but he cauſed it to be repaired, and erected a monaſtery for monks and nuns of his order, that of St. Auſtin. This monaſtery was removed in 1328 or 1332 to Bordeſholm, and it is the latter that properly bore the name of Wippendorp. New Munſter is now a market-town in Holſtein, ſituate on the Schwartz, and has a manufacture of cloth. Where the monaſtery formerly ſtood, is at preſent a houſe of correction.

WICELINUS being ſettled at Faldera, made frequent viſits to the ſeveral tribes of the Nordalbingians, whom he inſtructed by his diſcourſes, and edified by his behaviour. But as ſoon as tranquillity was re-eſtabliſhed among the Venedi, he waited upon Suentepolcus, whom he knew to be well affected to Chriſtianity, and reminded that prince of his father's promiſe concerning the article of religion. The king received him in the moſt obliging manner, and conſented to his ſending two prieſts, Ludolfus and Wolcwardus, to preach Chriſtianity to his heathen ſubjects. The prieſts were entertained at Lubeck by the factory of Saxon merchants, who had been encouraged and protected in their trade by the late king Henry. Oppoſite to the town, and on the other ſide of the Trave, ſtands an eminence, where the miſſionaries had permiſſion to erect a church, near which they fixed their reſidence. But they were ſoon diſturbed in this ſettlement by a quarrel that broke out between Suentepolcus and the Rugians, the latter taking an opportunity to invade the province of Wagria. Neither the motive nor the particulars of this quarrel have been tranſmitted to us in hiſtory. Probably, the Rugians were animated with the deſire of revenging the injuries they had received from Suentepolcus's father. Be that as it may, the power of the Obotrites muſt have been now upon the decline, when the ſon of the great Henry was driven out of his capital by ſo contemptible an enemy. But the power and grandeur of ſtates, like every thing elſe, are ſubject to change, as they generally depend on the weakneſs

neſs or ability of the ſovereign. The Rugians having equipped a ſtrong ſquadron, made a deſcent in the neighbourhood of Lubeck, and finding the city defenceleſs, demoliſhed it to the ground *. On this occaſion, the two prieſts above-mentioned had a very narrow eſcape from the fury of the barbarians. The zeal with which thoſe idolaters were animated in defence of their religious rites, made them conſider the Chriſtian miſſionaries as their greateſt enemies, whom they conſequently devoted to immediate deſtruction. With this view they hurried towards the neighbouring eminence, and with irreſiſtible impetuoſity forced their way into the church; but the prieſts had timely intelligence of their approach, and, making their eſcape by a back-door, retired to an adjacent wood, where they lay concealed till they met with an opportunity of obtaining a ſafe paſſage to the port of Faldera. With regard to the farther conſequences of this war, hiſtory is intirely ſilent: we are only informed that ſoon after this melancholy event, Suentepolcus met with the fate he merited † for the murder of his brother. The Divine vengeance was conſpicuous in this circumſtance: he was ſlain in the very place where he is ſuppoſed to have ſhed that prince's blood, viz. at Lutilinburg, by a gentleman of Holſtein named Daſo, who had been an attendant on his brother. He left an only ſon behind him named Suinike or Sueno.

1128.

Death of Suentepolcus 1133.

* They did not quite deſtroy it this time; for we find by Helmoldus, lib. i. that a church was built in it ſoon after that; but when the Rugians returned in 1139, they entirely demoliſhed it.

† There is a very great variance among the hiſtorians concerning the right date of the death of Suentepolcus, and the preceding events, to the murder of Canute. Gebhardi pretends to have aſcertained the whole chronology of this period, and the tranſactions from the death of Henry to that of Canute, from the Necrologium Lundenſe Stobei; but we have followed Buckholtz's tables, as the moſt accurate.

SUINIKE,

SUINIKE,

The Twenty-third KING of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES.

1133. BY the murder of Suentepolcus, the kingdom of the Venedi and Obotrites, which had greatly ſuffered from the diviſions of the two brothers, was unhappily reduced to the brink of deſtruction. The country being left, as it were, without a head, experienced all the direful effects of anarchy, and was expoſed to the wanton inſults of the Saxons and Rugians. Suinike, the preſent ſovereign, was an helpleſs infant, incapable of affording any protection to his ſubjects. He had been put under the guardianſhip of Canute duke of Sleſwick, according to the diſpoſition of Henry his grandfather, who had committed his whole family to the care and protection of that prince. But mankind in general are ſeldom ſolicitous in protecting thoſe, by whoſe death they expect to receive any conſiderable emolument. Suinike's reign was ſhort and unfortunate; the poor prince was murdered in the year 1135 at Atlenburg upon the Elbe, or as Helmoldus calls it Ertheneburg *, a city belonging to the Tranſalbians. Neither the authors nor the cauſe of his death are mentioned in hiſtory; but it is ſuſpected that Canute duke of Sleſwick was concerned in this murder. The reaſons for this ſuſpicion are, that Canute was ready to yield homage to the emperor Lotharius, and even gave a conſiderable bribe to that prince and his court, in order to place the crown of the Obotrites on his own head. Had his right been indubitable, and had there been no cauſe to ſuſpect his being guilty of that crime, he would not have been obliged to make ſuch a ſubmiſſion to the emperor. It is true, the circumſtances of Suinike's murder have been omitted by the hiſtorians of

Short reign of Suinike.

* Buckholtz calls it Erdenburg.

that

that time; but it muſt be obſerved, that thoſe writers were all of them eccleſiaſtics, an order of men by whom Canute was greatly beloved for his generoſity to the church. This might have induced them to overlook his failings, and his manner of aſcending the throne, by the murder of an innocent prince, and the excluſion of the lawful heirs, Pribiſlaus and Niclotus. During the reign of Henry, there is ſcarce any mention made of theſe princes, who were the ſons of Buthue, and by their father's untimely death had the misfortune of being educated in the Pagan religion. This is what rendered them ſo odious to the Saxon clergy, by whom they are treated with the contumelious appellation of truculentæ beſtiæ †. Be that as it may, with Suinike ended the line of Henry, deſcended from the royal houſe of Denmark. What is very extraordinary, this line reigned but eight years from the death of that prince, who had predicted their extinction himſelf; perhaps from the untoward diſpoſition of his children, which induced him, as ſome pretend, to ſettle the crown upon Canute, in failure of his own family. We hear nothing concerning the wives of Suentepolcus and Canute, nor indeed of any of Henry's poſterity *.

CANUTE II.

The Twenty-fourth KING of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES.

THE race of Henry being extinct, the crown ſhould have devolved to Buthue's two ſons, Pribiſlaus and Niclotus, to whom indeed it belonged, by a right prior to Henry himſelf. But Henry, as we have already obſerved, having conceived a great affection and eſteem for Canute prince of Denmark, had

1135. Conduct of Canute on coming to the crown.

† Helm.

* Helm. Krantz. Frank. Buckh.

appointed

appointed him guardian of his children after his deceaſe, and taken ſuch meaſures with the emperor Lotharius, as, in failure of his own iſſue, to have his dominions ſettled on the Daniſh prince. Canute * therefore ranks in the liſt of the Venedic kings, not by any right of ſucceſſion, being not at all of their blood, but by the teſtamentary diſpoſition of Henry, confirmed by the decree of the emperor Lotharius. The Venedi, however, did not quietly ſubmit to this deciſion. Canute's religion and country were great objections with a people, who had an averſion to Chriſtianity and foreigners, and moreover had among them the only princes of the royal line, educated according to their own cuſtoms, and in the principles of the pagan religion: yet Canute maintained his ground, by the intereſt and power of the emperor Lotharius, with whom he had been long connected in friendſhip, and whom he bribed, by conſiderable ſums, to eſtabliſh king Henry's will, and to ſupport him in his pretenſions to the kingdom of the Obotrites. But as the affairs of Canute are intimately connected with thoſe of Denmark, it will be neceſſary to caſt an eye on the tranſactions of that northern crown, which will enable us to give a clearer account of this prince's reign.

Affairs of Denmark.

DENMARK, like other kingdoms, had often experienced the dangerous conſequence of ſuffering the ſucceſſion to be controuled by the caprice and inconſtancy of fortune. This proved the ſource of frequent civil wars, which rendered that country a ſcene of deſolation and ſlaughter. Had the order of ſucceſſion been eſtabliſhed by clear and invariable laws, there never would have been any difficulty with regard to the next heir to the crown. By a cuſtom, indeed, very ancient, and greatly reſpected by the Danes, as well as by the Venedi, it was unconſtitutional to raiſe any perſon to the throne, who was

* Here I follow the common opinion; but according to M. Gramm. in his notes on Meurſius, Canute was the ſon of Botilda, Henry's ſiſter, and conſequently related to the crown. The reader may ſee the arguments he produces for this conjecture, fol. 299.

not

not deſcended from the royal family, though but of a diſtant branch; yet if the king had not ſufficient authority, or had neglected to appoint an heir in his life-time, the next in blood could claim no right to ſucceed him; but the nobility, after his deceaſe, elected from among his ſons or relations the prince whom they judged moſt deſerving the regal diadem. Thus the monarchy became either hereditary or elective, according to different conjunctures. In order to ſecure the ſucceſſion in his own iſſue, Sweyn Eſtrittius, who left ſix ſons *, prevailed with the ſtates to agree that the eldeſt ſhould ſucceed him, and after him the next ſurviving brother. This was a prepoſterous ſettlement, as it broke through the order of lineal deſcent, and proved a new ſource of inteſtine commotions and civil wars. Upon the death of Olaus ſurnamed Famelicus, his brother Eric III. the fourth ſon of Sweyn Eſtrittius, was choſen to ſucceed him, and died, as hath been already mentioned, in the iſle of Cyprus, on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

Canute's education and manners.

THIS Eric III. had three ſons; Harold, Canute, (the preſent king of the Venedi and Obotrites) and Eric IV. When Eric III. ſet out upon his pilgrimage, he appointed his ſon Harold regent of Denmark; but upon the advice of his death, the ſtates, remembering the promiſe they had made to his father Sweyn, placed Nicholas upon the throne, in preference to the ſons of the late king †. Nicholas eſpouſed Margaret, daughter of Ingo king of Sweden, by whom he had two ſons, Ingo and Magnus. The former was killed by a fall from his horſe, and the latter lived to experience a variety of adventures. Nicholas, in the beginning of his reign, conducted

* See p. 297.

† Helmoldus writes, that Eric, upon ſetting out for the Holy Land, entruſted the management of his kingdom to his brother Nicholas, together with the care of his ſon Canute; and made him ſwear, that in caſe he (Eric) died abroad, Nicholas ſhould deliver up the kingdom to Canute. But we have followed the Daniſh hiſtorians, who are ſuppoſed to be better acquainted with the affairs of their own nation, than a foreign author.

himſelf with great prudence; but his exceſſive fondneſs for his ſon Magnus led him afterwards into conſiderable miſtakes. Magnus and Canute had been educated together; yet there appeared not the leaſt conformity in their diſpoſitions: Canute was gentle, humane, and brave; Magnus, on the contrary, was boiſterous, inhuman, and cowardly. But ſuperior virtue, joined to equality of birth, is often productive of envy. This difference of temper made Canute apprehenſive, that his uncle might be prejudiced againſt him by his ſon's inſinuations *; and to avoid any inconveniency of that kind, he obtained leave to retire to the court of the emperor Lotharius, where he met with a moſt kind reception, and reſided ſeveral years.

But upon the breaking out of the war between Nicholas and Henry king of the Venedi, as mentioned p. 298, Canute perceiving his native country depopulated by the inroads of the enemy, offered his ſervice to his uncle, and requeſted the government of the duchy of Sleſwick: a poſt which had been refuſed by ſeveral of the nobility, on account of its dangerous ſituation, bordering on the country of the Venedi. The conduct of prince Canute during that war, as alſo the intimacy he afterwards contracted with Henry, have been already related at large. As ſoon as the peace was concluded between the two powers, Canute retired to his government of Sleſwick, where he applied his whole attention to the civil adminiſtration of that duchy. Whatever errors this prince may have committed in his acquiſition of the Venedic throne, his character in other reſpects was deſerving of univerſal love and admiration; brave and undaunted in battle, cool and deliberate in council, generous, frank, and humane, he was worthy of wearing a crown, could he have acquired it by a juſt title. But he is not the only prince that has endeavoured to cancel the odium of his uſurpation by the

* This is generally given as a reaſon (though perhaps it is not the true one) for his retiring to Germany; but ſurely he muſt have greatly changed his opinion afterwards, when he placed ſuch a confidence in prince Magnus, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

lenity

lenity of his government, and refuſed to violate juſtice, but for the ſake of dominion. Canute's impartial adminiſtration of the laws, charity to the poor, and benignity to mankind, rendered him the darling of all Denmark, but more particularly of the Sleſwickers, by whom his name was revered. Hiſtorians mention a remarkable inſtance of his regard to juſtice. Upon the concluſion of the peace, the troops being diſbanded, a great number of robberies happened to be committed in a thicket ſituated between the Slia and the Egdora: at length the whole gang were taken, and condemned to death; when one of the robbers imagined he ſhould be able to ſave his life by pretending to be of the blood royal of Denmark. Canute being informed of this pretence, declared againſt the indecency of puniſhing his relation in the ſame manner as a common felon; and therefore, as a greater reſpect and honour was due to his blood, he ordered him to be hanged on the top of the talleſt tree that could be found in the whole country *.

Canute ſeizes the Venedic throne.

UPON the murder of the infant Suinike, the grandſon and laſt male deſcendant of Henry king of the Venedi, in 1135, Canute repaired to the court of the emperor Lotharius, in order to obtain that prince's conſent and aſſiſtance in taking poſſeſſion of the country of Vandalia, in purſuance of Henry's teſtament. Lotharius being diſpoſed to favour Canute, who, as we before obſerved, had reſided ſome time at his court, readily aſſented to that prince's propoſal. But friendſhip was not the only motive that operated with the emperor on this occaſion: he was farther actuated by a more powerful ſpring, having received from Canute a conſiderable ſum of money. Lotharius therefore inveſted Canute with the government of that country, to hold it as an Imperial fief †, and conferred on him the title of king of the Venedi

* Pontan, &c.

† The reader need not be ſurprized at the emperor's granting the inveſtiture of the kingdom of the Venedi. This was agreeable to the notions of the Roman civilians in thoſe days, that the emperor had a right to the monarchy of the whole world; and the famous Bartoli looks upon thoſe as heretics who preſume to doubt

Venedi and Obotrites. Canute, on the other hand, was ſo mean as to barter his independency for an uſurped title, by doing homage to Lotharius. This ceremony being finiſhed, he marched a body of troops into Wagria, and pitched his camp on an eminence which in former times was called Alberg, where he built ſome ſmall houſes, and intended to erect a fortreſs. His view in this ſtep was to awe the inhabitants, who refuſed to ſubmit to his government, and would acknowledge none but Pribiſlaus and Niclotus, the ſons of Buthue, for their lawful ſovereigns. Canute being joined by the Holſatians, marched with all his forces into the country of the Obotrites, where his good fortune overcame all oppoſition; and, to complete his ſucceſs, both Pribiſlaus and Niclotus were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners. But here we muſt do him juſtice in acknowledging an extraordinary inſtance of his clemency. Though the diſtance between the priſons and the graves of princes is reckoned extremely ſhort, he did not put thoſe illuſtrious brothers, his competitors, to death, but carried them with him to Sleſwick: there they were held in confinement till a conſiderable ſum was paid for their ranſom; and hoſtages given for the performance of the conditions under which the Venedi were to ſubmit to his government. During the ſtay which Canute made in Wagria, he ſhewed a very great regard to Wicelinus, and promiſed that as ſoon as his government was firmly eſtabliſhed, he would uſe his utmoſt endeavours towards reſtoring Chriſtianity among the Venedi. As a farther mark of his good intentions, he frequently repaired to the monaſtery of Faldera, entering into a familiar

of this univerſal monarchy. In conformity to this principle, Waldemar was inveſted with the kingdom of Denmark by Frederick Barbaroſſa, who likewiſe raiſed Ladiſlaus duke of Bohemia to the regal dignity. And this is the beſt apology for the conduct of Canute in aſcending the Venedic throne, as he had been bred at the emperor's court, and imbibed all the prejudices with regard to that prince's authority. To which we may add, that the notion of propagating Chriſtianity might go a great way in thoſe days towards juſtifying the excluſion or depoſition of princes guilty of idolatry.

con-

converſation with Wicelinus and the reſt of that community. He likewiſe cauſed a church, which had been built at Lubeck by the late king Henry, to be conſecrated with the uſual ceremonies.

Canute meets with enemies in Denmark.

BUT Canute's great ſucceſſes among the Venedi raiſed him a cloud of enemies in Denmark, who envied his glory. They inſinuated to king Nicholas that he was ſtrongly actuated by ambition; and that not content with the territories he poſſeſſed, he was aſpiring to the throne of Denmark. The mind of a weak prince is naturally open to impreſſions of jealouſy. Theſe inſinuations had an effect upon the credulous king, who was the more eaſily impoſed upon, as his own children were among the accuſers, and now only waited for an opportunity of putting their villainous machinations into execution. In ſhort, they conſpired againſt his life; but being protected by Margaret queen of Denmark, who had a great veneration for his princely virtues, he for ſome time eſcaped their attacks. Upon the death of that excellent princeſs, his enemies prevailed on the king to ſummon him before the ſtates of Denmark, in order to anſwer to the charge of aſpiring to the crown; but he made ſo ſtrong and eloquent a defence, as convinced Nicholas himſelf of his loyalty.

THE king ſoon after happening to marry a ſecond wife, whoſe name was Ulvilde, this princeſs was impoſed upon by Canute's enemies, and ſoon found means to draw the king back into their party. She made him believe that Canute's popularity would be an obſtacle to prince Magnus's aſcending the throne, and would endanger even the ſafety of the preſent government. Theſe ſuggeſtions wrought ſuch a change on the mind of the weak monarch, that he declared to the leading men of the nation, he ſhould be pleaſed if Canute could be deſtroyed in ſome ſecret manner, ſo as not to give umbrage to the people. It is true, Saxo Grammaticus ſays the king could not be prevailed upon to conſent to the aſſaſſination, and that it was his ſon Magnus who preſided at this clandeſtine meeting. Be that as it may, Canute's enemies agreed to aſſaſſinate him, and an oath of ſecrecy was taken

by

by the conſpirators. In the behaviour of theſe ruffians we meet with a moſt remarkable inſtance of ſuperſtition and ignorance. At the taking of the oath they flung themſelves proſtrate upon the ground, with a view that if ever they were charged with ſuch a deſign, they might ſwear they had never entered into it either ſitting, kneeling, or ſtanding. But what is moſt prepoſterous, and ſtrongly characterizes the genius of ſuperſtition, they likewiſe thought themſelves bound to commit a moſt barbarous murder, rather than violate the oath they had taken of ſecrecy. Magnus undertook to direct the manner of executing the deſign, for which he was every way qualified, being a complete maſter in the art of diſſimulation.

His cataſtrophe.

He had ſoon an opportunity of diſplaying his deteſtable fraud, when he entertained, according to annual cuſtom, the nobility of the kingdom on Chriſtmas-eve. Canute was invited on the ſame occaſion, and his perfidious friend treated him with all the external marks of eſteem. After ſeveral declarations of his great opinion of Canute's integrity and abilities, he made this prince believe he intended a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; and, as a token of his confidence, intreated him to undertake the guardianſhip of his children, and the direction of his family, during his abſence. Canute, deceived by theſe appearances, was induced to make ſome ſtay with Magnus, which gave an opportunity to the latter of perpetrating his deſign, when the former went with very few attendants to viſit his ſiſter in the country. His wife Ingeburga having received ſome intelligence of the conſpiracy, ſent an expreſs to her huſband to forewarn him of the danger. Canute imputing this information to her affection and fear, took no notice of it; but ſaid it was impoſſible that Magnus ſhould be ſuch a compound of baſeneſs and villainy. In his way to his ſiſter, he arrived at the town of Haralſtadt, where he was entertained with the greateſt reſpect by Eric præfect of Falſtria. Magnus having had intelligence of his arrival, ſent one of the conſpirators, a Saxon, and a muſician by profeſſion, to deſire he would favour him with a private interview in a neighbouring wood, having matters of importance to commu-

communicate to him. Notwithſtanding the ſuſpicious circumſtance of the place and manner of meeting, and the warning Canute had received from Ingeburga, ſtill he was ſo infatuated as not to harbour the leaſt thought of any treacherous deſign. He immediately ordered his horſe to be got ready, and, taking only four attendants, was preparing to ſet out, without ſo much as girding on his ſword. One of his ſervants happening to remind him of this neglect, he made anſwer, That he was only going to meet prince Magnus, in whom he placed the greateſt confidence; and that he had no occaſion for a weapon at ſo friendly an interview. But the faithful ſervant ſuſpecting the ſnare that was laid for his maſter, prevailed on him at length, after many intreaties, to put on his ſword. While they were on their way to the place appointed for this tragical ſcene, the muſician recollecting that Canute had a particular affection for the Saxon nation and manners, and ſtruck perhaps with the open and generous behaviour of that prince, began to relent, and was touched with pity at the thoughts of his approaching cataſtrophe. Fain would he have diſcovered at once the whole conſpiracy; but the ſolemnity of an oath of ſecrecy had ſtruck ſuch a terror into his weak mind, that he thought it would be impiety to reveal it. Thus divided between the apprehenſion of perjury, and the ſhocking terror of rendering himſelf an accomplice to ſo barbarous a murder, he reſolved to diſburthen his conſcience, by giving ſuch hints of the perfidious deſign to Canute as ſhould ſtill be conſiſtent with the fidelity due to his engagement. For this purpoſe he began to entertain the prince by ſinging a moſt affecting ſong of Grimalda's perfidious machinations againſt his brothers, in ſuch moving and pathetic ſtrains, as, he imagined, would make ſome impreſſion on the unhappy victim. But his muſic, however harmonious, had no effect: and Canute was deaf to any inſinuations againſt the fidelity of a prince, with whom he had entered into the intimate and engaging ties of ſincere friendſhip. The Saxon finding the powers of harmony unavailing, and ſtill agitated by the terrors of his guilty conſcience, determined to

give

give a broader hint, and, uncovering his breaſt, as it were by accident, diſcloſed the coat of mail. But even this made no impreſſion: Canute was inacceſſible to jealouſy or fear; and beheld his armour with the utmoſt indifference. The muſician having thus in vain endeavoured to preſerve the prince, without violating his oath, thought he had diſcharged his duty, and quietly proceeded to the end of his journey.

No ſooner were they arrived at the wood, than Magnus ſtepped forth to receive Canute, and embraced him with all the outward demonſtrations of tenderneſs and friendſhip. But amidſt this ſcene of treachery and diſſimulation, Canute perceived his coat of mail, and yet not ſuſpecting any iniquitous deſign, he innocently aſked him the reaſon of that precaution? The traitor made anſwer, that there was a perſon in that neighbourhood to whom he bore an implacable enmity; and that he came fully determined to deſtroy him if poſſible, and to demoliſh his houſe to the ground. Such a reſolution could not but give offence to Canute's humanity; he begged him not to contaminate the ſanctity of the day (it being then the Epiphany) by indulging his private revenge; he expoſtulated with him upon the atrociouſneſs of the crime, and promiſed if he would be ſo generous as to forgive the perſon who had thus incurred his diſpleaſure, he would be anſwerable for his ſubmiſſion and amendment. In the midſt of this moving ſcene, the ruffians hired to perpetrate the horrid deed ruſhed from behind the trees, and ranged themſelves in the prince's preſence. Canute, ſomewhat ſurprized at this appearance, enquired of Magnus, whom he ſtill thought innocent of any intent againſt himſelf, what had been his inducement to ſend for thoſe ſoldiers. The barbarian made anſwer, My purpoſe in ſending for them was, to determine on this ſpot who is to be ſucceſſor to the king my father. Canute gently replying, that he hoped God would long preſerve the good monarch's life, and inſiſting that this was not a proper time to diſcuſs ſuch a ſubject, the unrelenting aſſaſſin laid violent hands on him; and as Canute at length attempted to draw his ſword, the conſpirators fell upon him with all the fury of ſavage beaſts, diſpatched

him

him in an inſtant, and glutted their barbarity on his mangled body. Thus fell * the generous, the gallant Canute, whom the Danes to this day revere, as the greateſt ornament of his age and country; and nothing indeed but his manner of aſcending the Venedic throne prevents him from being entirely worthy of that encomium. His friends applied for leave to inter him ſuitably to his rank and merit, in the city of Roſchild; but the king, apprehending that the ſight of his mangled corpſe might enflame the populace, ordered a private funeral for him at Ringſtad. 1136.

INGEBURGA, the wife of Canute, was delivered of a ſon † about eight days after that horrid murder. This infant, whoſe name was Waldemar, became dear to the public from the great affection they had always borne to his father. He did not ſucceed to the kingdom of the Venedi; but ſome time after aſcended the throne of Denmark ‡.

* The year in which this murder happened is not certain; ſome hiſtorians placing it in 1131, others in 1133, others in 1134, and others in 1136. It was on the ſixth of January, being the feaſt of the Epiphany.

† He had other ſons, whoſe conduct has been blamed by hiſtorians; and in the preſent caſe no notice is taken of them, becauſe they are ſuppoſed to have been among the conſpirators, and conſequently undeſerving of the crown. He had likewiſe three daughters; Chriſtientia, wife of Magnus king of Norway; Petronella the conſort of Pribiſlaus II. the laſt king of the Venedi; and Judith, the wife of Bernard elector of Saxony.

‡ Helmold. Saxo. Krantz. Corner. Peterſen. Holſt. Chron. Bangert. Kirchberg, Bechr.

CHAP. X.

Containing the reigns of Pribiſlaus I. and Niclotus I. from 1136, to the death of the former in 1142.

Pribiſlaus and Niclotus ſucceed to the crown. Enter into a partition of their dominions. The emperor Lotharius builds the fort of Sigeberg. Death of the emperor Lotharius. Riſe and Progreſs of the illuſtrious houſe of Brunſwick. Affairs of the empire. Henry Superbus is put under the ban of the empire. Is ſucceeded by his ſon Henry the Lion. Pribiſlaus invades Holſatia. Is diſpoſſeſſed of his dominions by the Rugians. The Rugians are driven out of Wagria by Henry of Badewide. Wagria granted to the count of Schaumburg. Riſe and Progreſs of New Lubeck. Conjectures concerning the fate of Pribiſlaus I.

XXV. PRIBISLAUS I.
XXVI. NICLOTUS I.
} KINGS of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES.

EMPERORS of GERMANY,

LOTHARIUS II. 1125. CONRAD III. 1138.

KING of ENGLAND, STEPHEN, 1135.

1136. Pribiſlaus and Niclotus ſucceed to the Venedic crown.

THE murder of Canute made way for the reſtoration of the antient royal line of the Obotrites, which ſtill ſubſiſted in the two ſons of Buthue, Pribiſlaus and Niclotus. It is true that Magnus, the ſon of Nicholas king of Denmark, was alſo inveſted with the title of king of the Venedi by the emperor Lotharius; but the diſturbances which broke out in Denmark, prevented that inveſtiture from taking effect. The two brothers were deprived of their father at a very tender age; and, for want of proper guardians, had been educated

educated in the idolatrous religion of the Venedi. This is perhaps the very circumſtance which endeared them to that nation, and, after an uſurpation of ſo long a ſtanding, paved the way for their reſtoration. The preceding princes, Henry, his ſons, and Canute, being of a different religion from the Venedi, had never been able to conciliate the affections of thoſe people; ſo that their power over the country ſeems to have been entirely ſupported by the ſword, that is, by the ſuperior weight and aſſiſtance of the Danes and Saxons. But this ſupport being withdrawn upon the murder of Canute, the Venedi were left to their own liberty, and the ſucceſſion naturally reverted to the two lawful heirs * of that ſovereignty, Pribiſlaus and Niclotus.

They enter into a partition of their dominions.

THE accounts we have of theſe two princes before the recovery of their inheritance, are extremely obſcure and imperfect. Some pretend that Pribiſlaus was poſſeſſed of a principality in the marquiſate of Brandenburg, and Niclotus of another in the country of the Polabi; but for this we have not ſufficient authority. Helmoldus takes no farther notice of them, than that they had been impriſoned by king Canute, and ſet at liberty upon giving hoſtages and paying a ranſom. We ſhall therefore avoid entering into idle conjectures, and confine ourſelves chiefly to ſuch facts as are properly ſupported. The firſt ſtep theſe brothers took, after they had poſſeſſed themſelves of the government, was very impolitic, and indeed may be juſtly deemed the chief cauſe of the declenſion of the kingdom of the Obotrites. This was their entering into a partition of their father's dominions; by which Pribiſlaus had the hither part bordering on Saxony, namely, Wagria, with the country of the Polabi; while his brother Niclotus received for his ſhare the remoteſt part towards Pomerania, viz. the country of the Obotrites. This practice of dividing the ſucceſſion had been rarely known in the annals of the family; but afterwards it became frequent, and inſenſibly weakened the ſtate, which ſhould have been kept undi-

* There are ſome who, on account of the diſtance of time from the death of Buthue to the acceſſion of Pribiſlaus and Niclotus, which is near ſixty years, ſuppoſe the two latter to have been nephews of Buthue; but without any authority.

vided. The two brothers having been educated in the principles of idolatry, ſhewed themſelves equally zealous in ſupporting that worſhip, and diſcouraging every attempt towards the eſtabliſhment of the goſpel in their dominions. From the oppoſition which ſeveral of their anceſtors had met with, in endeavouring to introduce Chriſtianity, againſt the general bent of the people, one would imagine that the conduct of thoſe princes on the preſent occaſion was at leaſt reconcileable to good policy; but, by a kind of fatality which no human prudence could counteract, their zeal and ſteadineſs in defending the Pagan rites proved the ſource of all their misfortunes, and terminated at length in the ſubverſion of the kingdom of the Venedi.

The emperor Lotharius builds the fort of Sigeberg.

RELIGIOUS zeal is rarely confined within the bounds of moderation: the two brothers were ſo attached to their idolatrous rites, as to exerciſe great ſeverities againſt the profeſſors of Chriſtianity, though perhaps not with all the circumſtances of cruelty * repreſented by the monkiſh hiſtorians. On both ſides we muſt allow for prejudices; and no doubt but outrages were committed by Pagans as well as Chriſtians, according as each party predominated. Affairs being thus circumſtanced, Wicelinus, who had the direction of eccleſiaſtical affairs in that country, waited on the emperor Lotharius at Bardewick, and repreſented to this prince, as well as to his imperial conſort Richenza, the diſtreſſed ſtate of religion among the Venedi. He farther obſerved, that his Imperial majeſty had an authority delegated from Heaven to encourage the propagation of the Goſpel; and therefore he entreated him to exert it for the welfare and ſalvation of thoſe unfortunate heathens. But it ſeems this good deſign was to be carried into execution by violence; that is, the Venedi were to be awed into an external belief of the Goſpel. For the better effecting of this purpoſe, Wicelinus acquainted the emperor, that he had diſcovered an eminence in the province of Wagria, where a caſtle might be erected to bridle the neighbouring country, and that the late king Canute had formed ſuch a deſign. Pleaſed with this

* See p. 143.

intelligence,

intelligence, which was confirmed by perſons that had examined the ſpot, the emperor croſſed the Elbe with a ſtrong body of troops, and advancing into Wagria, iſſued out orders to all the Nordalbingians to come and aſſiſt in the building of a caſtle. The princes of the Venedi being ſummoned for the ſame purpoſe, with reluctance obeyed, knowing it was intended to keep them in ſubjection. But they were more particularly incenſed againſt Wicelinus, whom in deriſion they called the little baldpated man, and to whom they imputed this attempt upon their liberties. The caſtle, however, was finiſhed, and called Sigeberg, and the command thereof given to Hermannus, an Imperial officer. At the foot of the hill the ſame emperor cauſed a church and monaſtery to be erected, and endowed it with a conſiderable revenue, committing the care of it to Wicelinus. The like regulation he made at Lubeck, and gave orders to Pribiſlaus, that, upon pain of forfeiting his favour, he ſhould grant all encouragement to the clergy. In ſhort, the emperor's intention was to convert the whole nation of the Venedi upon his return from Italy, for which expedition he was then making the greateſt preparations *.

1137. Death of the emperor Lotharius.

But this prince did not live to execute his religious deſign: he reſigned his laſt breath, upon his return from Italy, at Bretten, a village in Bavaria. The motive of that expedition had been to reſtore pope Innocent II. depoſed by Roger duke of Apulia. He ſucceeded in his deſign, and drove Roger out of his Italian dominions †. His only iſſue was a daughter, named Gertrude, heireſs to the whole eſtate of the family of Henry the Fowler, her mother Richenza being the only daughter of Henry the Fat, the laſt of that emperor's deſcendants. Gertrude was

* Helmold. Buckh. Frank.

† At the taking of Amalfi in the kingdom of Naples was found a MS. of Juſtinian's Pandects, which is either the very original or coeval with that emperor. Lotharius made a preſent of it to the Piſans, who preſerved it in their archives till the year 1406, when they were ſubdued by the Florentines; and then it was removed to Florence, where it is ſtill preſerved in the Medicean Library. From the diſcovery of this MS. we are to date the teaching of the civil law in public ſchools. The famous Werner was the firſt that gave lectures on it in the univerſity of Bologna.

married.

married in 1127 to Henry, ſurnamed Superbus, duke of Bavaria, from whom the preſent illuſtrious houſe of Brunſwick is deſcended. But this being an event of the utmoſt importance, and by a chain of events intimately connected with our hiſtory, we ſhall enter into a more minute detail of it, and trace the origin of a family, which, after the moſt obſtinate and bloody war, became intimately united with the royal houſe of the Venedi, and, in the order of Providence, was deſtined, after a ſucceſſion of ages, to form and to perpetuate the happineſs of the Britiſh dominions.

Riſe and progreſs of the moſt illuſtrious houſe of Brunſwick.

THE marriage of the above-mentioned illuſtrious pair is a memorable æra in the annals of Brunſwick, as the Guelphic race derived a new luſtre and ſtrength from ſo happy an alliance. The princeſs Gertrude, being deſcended from Wittekind the Great, and the ancient dukes of Saxony, reckoned no leſs than ſix emperors among her anceſtors. To which if we add the ſplendor of the Guelphic deſcent, we ſhall find that the moſt illuſtrious blood of the ſouth, weſt, and north of Europe, centered in this great family. The anceſtors of Henry Superbus by the male line derived their origin from the Actii, a noble family at Rome, who, ſo early as the time of the republic, are ſaid to have retired to Ateſte or Eſte, an ancient city in Lombardy. Here they lived for many ages with great dignity, and, towards the decline of the Roman empire, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in repelling the invaſions of the northern nations. From the chief place of their reſidence the family derived its name of Domus Ateſtina, or the houſe of Eſte. A deſcendant of this houſe was Azo, marquis of Eſte, who, about the year 1027, followed the emperor Conrad II. into Germany, where he eſpouſed the princeſs Cunigunda, ſiſter of Guelph IV. duke of Bavaria and Carinthia, the laſt male of the ancient and renowned family of the Guelphs. The Guelphic original is traced as high as the kings of the Sicambri, who were afterwards known by the name of Franks; and Charlemagne, conſequently all the Carlovingian emperors and kings, are ſaid to have been branches of this family. Azo had, by this marriage with the princeſs

princeſs Cunigunda *, Guelph V. (but the firſt of that name of the houſe of Eſte). This prince, ſurnamed the Valiant, eſpouſed Judith, daughter of Baldwin V. count of Flanders, and ſiſter-in-law to William the Conqueror, who married her ſiſter Matilda. This ſame Judith was at that time widow of Toſticus earl of Northumberland, brother of Harold king of England. The emperor Henry IV. having on ſeveral occaſions experienced the fidelity of Guelph V. granted him the inveſtiture of Bavaria in 1071, upon the rebellion of Otho of Saxony, who had been in poſſeſſion of that province. Guelph V. died in 1101, on his return from Paleſtine, and left two ſons behind him, Guelph VI. and Henry Niger, or the Black. Guelph VI. married the richeſt princeſs of his time, the famous counteſs Matilda, heireſs of Ferrara, Mantua, Lucca, Parma, Placentia, Piſa, Spoleto, Ancona, and Tuſcany. But ſhe parted from her huſband, and bequeathed her dominions to the ſee of Rome. Guelph died without iſſue in 1119. His brother Henry Niger married Wulfhild, daughter of Magnus, the laſt duke of Saxony of the line of Billung, and by her had three ſons; Henry ſurnamed Superbus; Conrad, a biſhop and cardinal; and Guelph VII. The latter died without iſſue. Henry received the ſurname of Superbus either from his enemies, or, as ſome apprehend, from his magnificence, which the word Superbus alſo denotes. This prince having eſpouſed the forementioned Gertrude, daughter and heireſs of the emperor Lotharius, in 1127, received from his father-in-law the inveſtiture of the dukedom of Saxony in 1136 †.

Affairs of the empire.

UPON the death of Lotharius II. there were two competitors for the empire. One was Henry Superbus duke of Saxony, Bavaria, and Tuſcany, and ſon-in-law to the late emperor, who

* After the death of Cunigunda, Azo married for his ſecond wife Gerſenda, daughter of Hugh count of Maine; and from this marriage the preſent houſe of Modena is ſaid to be deſcended. Others pretend that the houſe of Modena is derived from this prince by his third wife, Judith, daughter of the emperor Conrad II.

† Sagittarius, Leibnitz, Imhoff, Reinerus Reineccius, Baptiſta Pigna de principibus Ateſtinis; Faleta, genealogia marchionum Eſtenſium; Muratori trattato delle antichitá Eſtenſi.

had

had put the regalia into his hands, and even deſigned him for his ſucceſſor in the Imperial dignity. The other was Conrad duke of Franconia, nephew of the emperor Henry V. A general diet of the ſtates had been ſummoned at Mentz, in order to proceed to a new election; but the lords of Franconia and Suabia, and moſt of the prelates, apprehending that Henry would carry his point in a general diet, on account of the great number of vaſſals and nobility who were his dependents, ſuddenly aſſembled at Coblentz, and choſe Conrad duke of Franconia. It is remarkable that this was the firſt Imperial election made contrary to the ancient cuſtom, and without the concurrence of the people. The Saxons looking upon this proceeding as illegal, at firſt refuſed to acknowledge Conrad, but ſubmitted at the diet of Bamberg. Conrad, ſoon after, ſent to demand the regalia of Henry; which that prince haughtily refuſing (from whence ſome think he obtained his ſurname) he was invited to a diet aſſembled at Ratiſbon, in hopes of ſoftening him into compliance: yet the duke continued inflexible, nor would he condeſcend to yield homage to Conrad. But he confided too much in his good fortune, and did not ſeem ſollicitous to gain the other princes over to his intereſt. This want of precaution proved fatal to him in the end; and his enemies, who envied his proſperity, ſeized that opportunity of reducing his power. He was cited to the diet of Wurtzburg; but refuſing to appear, he was put under the ban of the empire, and deſpoiled of his dukedoms and fiefs by a decree of the princes convened at Goſlar. At that time his dominions extended from Denmark to the heart of Italy; for his father had left him the dukedom of Bavaria, which then included Auſtria, Stiria, and Carinthia: he was likewiſe duke of Saxony, and poſſeſſed the country of Lunenburg, the country of Querfurt, Weſtphalia, Angria, Holſtein, and Stormar, the burgraviate of Magdeburg, Northeim, and other territories: in Italy he had Eſte and Lombardy, together with Tuſcany. But the ban of the empire being proclaimed againſt this prince at Goſlar, the fatal ſentence is ſaid to have produced ſuch an unexpected effect, that he was deſerted by

by all his friends, and only four ſervants remained with their unfortunate maſter. This circumſtance, if true, bears ſome reſemblance to the melancholy condition of Robert king of France, who being excommunicated by the pope, was forſaken by his courtiers; and even his domeſtics purified every thing with fire that had paſſed through his unhallowed hands. Things, however, are greatly altered in this enlightened age, and neither bans nor excommunications have any ſuch magical effects.

In conſequence of the Imperial ban, the dukedom of Saxony was given to Albert the Bear marquis of Brandenburg, ſon of Otho of Ballenſtaett, and of Elike, the ſecond daughter of Magnus the laſt duke of Saxony of the houſe of Billung. The duchy of Bavaria was granted to Leopold margrave of Auſtria, the emperor's half-brother. Henry finding himſelf deſerted by his ſubjects in Bavaria, left the management of his affairs in that country to his brother Guelph VII. and haſtened to Lower Saxony, in order to oppoſe Albert the Bear, who had made himſelf maſter of Lunenburg, Bardewick, and Bremen, and driven count Adolphus II. of the houſe of Schawenburg out of Holſatia. The Saxons proved more faithful to their prince than the Bavarians: the diſtreſſes of their ſovereign excited their compaſſion: troops flocked to him from different quarters, and, with the aſſiſtance of his mother-in-law the empreſs Richenza, he ſoon recovered Lunenburg, with the remainder of that country. Then marching into Holſatia, he reinſtated count Adolphus; and proceeding farther with his victorious army, he recovered the marquiſate of Brandenburg from Albert the Bear. The emperor, apprized of the progreſs of Henry's arms, flew to the aſſiſtance of Albert; but Henry marching with all his forces to meet him, a ceſſation of hoſtilities was agreed upon, and the town of Quedlinburg appointed for holding a congreſs.

Thus Henry was upon the point of recovering all his dominions, when he died in that city, in the fortieth year of his age, as ſome ſay of chagrin, but as others of poiſon, before the difference between him and the emperor was finally ſettled. He left an only ſon, Henry, ſurnamed the Lion for his valour; 1139. His death.

lour; a prince who ſtands ſo conſpicuous in the annals of Brunſwick.

Henry Superbus is ſucceeded by his ſon Henry the Lion.

HENRY the Lion was born in 1129, and of courſe was but ten years old at the death of his father, who recommended his ſon to the ſtates of Saxony. This prince's uncle Guelph VII. took upon him the guardianſhip of his nephew, and diſcharged his truſt with great fidelity. He expelled the new duke out of Bavaria, and attacked Frederick duke of Suabia, the emperor's brother, who had laid ſiege to the caſtle of Winſberg, on the frontiers of Franconia and Bavaria: but he had the misfortune
1142. of being defeated by the Imperialiſts *. At length a diet was
1143. held at Frankfort to determine the diſpute concerning the ſucceſſion of Henry Superbus. The reſolutions of this aſſembly were, that Henry ſhould be reinſtated in the dukedom of Saxony; but that of Bavaria was confirmed to Henry Jochſammergot margrave of Auſtria, who had married Gertrude, widow of Henry Superbus, and lately ſucceeded his brother Leopold. This accommodation gave great offence to Guelph, who pretended that in failure of Henry the Lion, the dukedom of Bavaria ought to revert to him. The emperor refuſing to comply with his demand, he waged war during the ſpace of ten years againſt Henry of Auſtria, and againſt the emperor himſelf, by means of ſubſidies from Roger king of Sicily. This prince's aim was to feed the war in Germany, and, by ſo powerful a diverſion, to hinder the emperor from attending to the affairs of Apulia. Albert the Bear, who loſt the dukedom of Saxony by the treaty of Frankfort, was indemnified by the intire ceſſion of the mar-

* The battle of Winſberg is a noted period among the writers of the middle age, as it was productive of the names of two famous parties, the Guelphs and the Gibellines. The watch word which the Bavarian general gave to the troops under his command was his own name Guelph; and the Imperial general gave to his army that of Weiblingen, the name of a little village in Suabia, where he had been educated. By degrees, the two names ſerved to diſtinguiſh the two parties: the Imperialiſts were always called Weiblingians, and thoſe of the oppoſite intereſt had the name of Guelphs. This diſtinction at firſt was only heard of in Germany; but Italy being afterwards divided into two parties, thoſe who ſided with the emperor were called Gibellini (by a corrupt pronunciation of Weiblingi), and ſuch as adhered to the pope received the name of Guelphs.

quiſate

quiſate of Brandenburg. This province was at the ſame time erected into a principality of the empire, and rendered independent of the dukes of Saxony. Albert the Bear is the founder of the preſent houſe of Anhalt *. The hiſtory of theſe revolutions being greatly connected with that of the princes of the Venedi, we have collected them into one view, to prevent too frequent digreſſions.

Pribiſlaus invades Holſatia.

THE diſturbances which aroſe in Germany upon the death of Lotharius, greatly contributed to weaken the empire, and afforded an opportunity to the Venedi to throw off the Saxon yoke, and to renew their incurſions upon the frontiers. Pribiſlaus being neareſt thoſe frontiers by the poſſeſſion of Wagria, put himſelf at the head of a body of troops, and marched † into Holſatia, where he committed great violences, ſetting fire to the ſuburbs of Sigeberg, and to all the adjacent villages. In peruſing the accounts of thoſe times, we cannot help lamenting the hard fate of humanity; when neighbouring nations, merely from a difference in religious rites, and a barbarous depravation of manners, were worked up into the higheſt deteſtation of each other, ſo as ever to mark their alternate inroads with the deſtructive ſword, and the all-conſuming fire. The new monaſtery and chapel were burned down to the ground; but the monks made their eſcape to Faldera, except one, named Wolckmar, who was barbarouſly ſlain. Notwithſtanding theſe animoſities, ſo ſacred were the laws of hoſpitality among the Venedi, that Ludolphus and the reſt of the clergy at Lubeck were noway moleſted, becauſe they lived under the protection of Pribiſlaus, to whom they had been recommended by the emperor Lotharius. It is true, they ſuffered great miſery and want, and were daily obliged to behold a moſt ſhocking ſpectacle,

* Helm. Alb. Stad. Pfeffel, &c.

† It is very curious to ſee how unmercifully Helmoldus, who was a fiery eccleſiaſtic, abuſes the princes of the Venedi whenever they are acting in oppoſition to the Saxons. This army he calls a gang of robbers, latronum manus; and on the two royal brothers he beſtows the honourable titles of truculentæ beſtiæ, ſavage beaſts.

the variety of tortures inflicted on the Chriſtian priſoners at Lubeck.

1138. War between Pribiſlaus and the Rugians.

But the tide of proſperity ſoon began to turn againſt Pribiſlaus; and to ſo low an ebb was he reduced, as to excite even the compaſſion of his enemies. His misfortunes took their riſe from a rupture which, about this time, enſued between him and Ratzo prince of Rugen, the grandſon of Cruco, the barbarous murderer of king Buthue. The cauſe of this rupture is not ſufficiently known: ſome conjecture it to have been owing to the diſcovery which Ratzo had made, of an alteration in Pribiſlaus's ſentiments with regard to the ancient religion of the Venedi. Having been apprized of the protection which had been granted to the Chriſtian prieſts at Lubeck, he might have apprehended that Pribiſlaus had formed a deſign to reſtore Chriſtianity in Wagria, and the country of the Polabi. But whatever was the motive of this quarrel, whether religion or ambition, or both, the conſequence proved moſt fatal to Pribiſlaus. Ratzo, having immediately equipped a fleet, made a deſcent upon Wagria, and attacked the city of Lubeck, which was ſet on fire, and burned to the ground. He expected, indeed, to have ſurprized Pribiſlaus, who had pitched upon that place for his reſidence; but this prince received timely intelligence of Ratzo's approach, which enabled him to make his eſcape *. His affairs, by ſome ſtrange fatality or miſconduct, muſt have been at this time in a forlorn ſituation; ſince neither his capital was able to maintain a ſiege, nor his troops to keep the field. But the accounts of this tranſaction are very imperfect: by a ſudden tranſition we are apprized of the principal event, without being entertained with any thing preparatory or ſubſequent to ſo great a revolution. The Rugians were ſuch zealous defenders of their idolatrous rites, that they threatened to wreak their vengeance againſt the inveterate enemies of thoſe rites, namely, the Chriſtian prieſts at Lubeck;

* Some imagine him to have been taken priſoner by Ratzo; but all that Helmoldus ſays is, arbitratus ſe hoſtem ſuum Pribiſlaum reperturum Lubeke, which implies rather that he did not find him there.

and

and they would certainly have effected their barbarous purpoſe, had not thoſe good men contrived to conceal themſelves among ſome weeds in the neighbouring fields, from whence they made their eſcape to Faldera. Here they continued a conſiderable time, ſtruggling with great hardſhips, and oppreſſed with grief, as Helmoldus expreſſes it, for the loſs of their favourite plantation.

Pribiſlaus diſpoſſeſſed of his dominions

FROM that time we find no farther mention of Pribiſlaus; however, what conjectures have been formed with regard to his deſtiny, we ſhall preſently relate. It ſeems that Ratzo on this occaſion made himſelf maſter of Wagria and the country of the Polabi, and that Pribiſlaus was never able to recover his dominions. But it is ſomewhat extraordinary, that notwithſtanding the verity of this proceeding againſt that unfortunate prince, Ratzo ſhould ſtill live in alliance and friendſhip with the other brother Niclotus, and even ſupport him afterwards with troops. This part of our hiſtory is therefore very obſcure, and leaves room for conjecture, that Pribiſlaus muſt have been inclined, as we have already inſinuated, to favour Chriſtianity: that this diſpoſition muſt have been productive of a coolneſs and miſunderſtanding between him and Niclotus: that Ratzo embraced this opportunity of expelling Pribiſlaus out of Wagria; and that he juſtified this meaſure to Niclotus, under the notion of ſecuring the religion and liberties of the Venedi. Bigotry in all ages has been productive of the moſt amazing effects: ſo that it is no wonder the ties of blood ſhould be diſregarded, where the cauſe of religion is concerned.

1138. The Rugians are driven out of Wagria by Henry of Badewide.

THE Rugians, being now maſters of Wagria, availed themſelves of the diſturbances which ſtill agitated the empire to make incurſions into Holſatia, where they committed the moſt horrid outrages. Their fury fell chiefly upon the country about Faldera, which they ravaged without mercy, ſetting fire to the villages, and maſſacring the inhabitants. By theſe barbarities the Holſatians at length were rouzed to arms, under the command of count Henry of Badewide, who was then veſted with the government of that province; count Adolphus of Schaumburg having been

driven

driven from thence by Albert the Bear, for refuſing to eſpouſe his cauſe againſt Henry Superbus. Henry of Badewide raiſed a ſtrong army of Holſatians and Stormarians, at the head of which he made a ſudden irruption into Wagria in the depth of winter, and found the Rugians unprepared for his reception. Meeting with very little oppoſition, he retaliated the injuries done to the Holſatians, and ravaged the whole territory of Ploen, Lutkenburg, Aldenburg, and all that tract of land which is bounded by the river Schwall, the Baltic, and the Trave. The ſame hoſtilities were renewed by the Holſatians the next ſummer; and the Rugians were diſpoſſeſſed of Wagria and the country of the Polabi: Ploen, the ſtrongeſt place in the whole country, was taken by ſtorm; and the garriſon, according to the barbarous right of war in thoſe days, was put to the ſword. Henry of Badewide kept poſſeſſion of this country for a ſhort time, till Henry Superbus, as we have already taken notice, recovered Saxony from Albert the Bear. Count Adolphus was then reſtored to Holſatia; and Henry of Badewide, finding he could not keep poſſeſſion of Wagria, was ſo tranſported by a barbarous fit of deſperation, that he ſet fire to Sigeberg, and to the famous city of Hamburg. At length the diſputes between the two counts, Henry and Adolphus, were adjuſted by the young duke of Saxony, Henry the Lion: Adolphus of Schaumberg had Sigeberg, and the whole province of Wagria: Henry of Badewide had Ratzeburg, with the country of the Polabi, and was the founder of the counts of Ratzeburg.

Wagria is given to count Adolphus of Schaumburg.

No ſooner had count Adolphus taken peaceable poſſeſſion of Wagria, than he began to rebuild the town of Sigeberg, and ſurrounded it with a ſtrong wall. His attention was next directed to the re-peopling of the province, which by long wars and hoſtile incurſions had been almoſt drained of inhabitants. With this view, he invited colonies from Flanders, Holland, Weſtphalia, and Friſeland, with the promiſe of fruitful lands and pleaſant ſettlements. But he was particularly ſolicitous to tempt great numbers of the Holſatians to remove to theſe parts, as he could rely upon them more ſecurely than upon any other nation;

nation; and they were better entitled, by their gallant behaviour againſt the Rugians, to an encouragement of that nature. Multitudes flocked from all parts, and the lands were diſtributed among them in the following manner. The Holſatians had all that tract of country that lies weſt of Sigeberg near the river Trave, together with the plains of Zwentinefeld, and the territory extending from the river Schwall or Suale as far as Agrimeſou and the lake of Ploen. To the Weſtphalians he gave the village of Dargun; to the Dutch Utin; and to the Friſians Suſle *. The diſtrict of Ploen was left as yet uninhabited; but the towns of Aldenburg and Lutilenburg or Luttenburg, and the reſt of the country bordering on the ſea-ſhore, he granted to the Venedic inhabitants, and made them ſubject to his juriſdiction.

For the better illuſtration of the above partition, it will be proper to give the reader an idea of the courſe of the rivers Trave and Schwall, by which thoſe territories were bounded. Not far from the village of Bluncken, two rivers derive their ſource from neighbouring ſprings. The one now called Tenſebeck, formerly Crimeſſaw, directs its courſe northward, and ſoon falls into the lake of Stockſee, by the ancients called Agrimeſſwedel: from thence it runs into the lake of Ploen, in conjunction with the river Suentin, whence the lands formerly called Schwentinfeld derived their name. It emerges from the lake of Ploen, mixing its ſtream with the Suentin, whoſe name it receives, and continues its courſe a good way northward, till it empties itſelf into the gulph of Kiel in the Baltic. The other river, more celebrated than the former, and known by the name of Trave, runs ſouth as far as Oldeſloe; then ſteering its courſe eaſtward, waſhes Lubeck, and from thence glides gently on to Travemund, where it forms a very good harbour to the city of Lubeck, and diſcharges itſelf into the Baltic. Theſe two rivers intirely encompaſs Wagria, and formerly divided the Wagrians from the Saxons and the Obotrites.

* This village ſtill retains its name, and is ſituate not far from the Baltic.

Riſe and progreſs of New Lubeck.

COUNT Adolphus afterwards obſerving the ruins of the Old Town built by Cruco on the iſland of Bucu *, ſurrounded on one ſide by the Trave, on the other by the Wackenitz, thought it a moſt convenient ſpot, on account of its excellent harbour, to eſtabliſh a colony. With this deſign he laid the foundations of a new city, and gave it the name of Lubeck †, becauſe it was only about two miles diſtant from the old harbour and town built by Henry king of the Venedi and Obotrites. Such were the foundations of the preſent city of Lubeck, which makes ſo conſiderable a figure in the following hiſtory. It ſtands on the navigable river of Trave, which, above the town receives the Steckenitz, another navigable ſtream, by means of which it communicates with the Elbe; but below it receives the Wackenitz, alſo a navigable ſtream, iſſuing from the lake of Ratzeburg. The Trave, after joining with the river Schwartow in its courſe, diſembogues itſelf, as we have already mentioned, into the Baltic. By the conveniency of theſe different ſtreams, flat-bottomed veſſels navigate from the Baltic along the Trave, the Steckenitz, and the Elbe, into the German Ocean. The city is built on the two ſides of a long hill of a moderate height: the eaſtern part extending itſelf down the declivity towards the Wackenitz, as the weſtern does towards the Trave. The town is ſurrounded with wide moats and ſtrong ramparts, planted with trees, and forming an agreeable walk. The ſtreets are wide and regular, and the houſes built of ſtone. This city has long continued the head of the Hanſe Towns; and its trade is ſtill very conſiderable, from its convenient ſituation, and its being poſſeſſed of ſeveral manufactures.

* There are ſome difficulties about this Bucu; ſome underſtand by that word the iſland or place on which the city of Lubeck ſtands, and others a town formerly ſo called, and built alſo on that ſpot. Helmoldus ſays no more than, Locus qui dicitur Bucu.

† We have elſewhere taken notice, that ſome derive the name of this city from the Venedic word Libuka, ſignifying a bride; others pretend it comes from a fiſherman named Lubovius, who was the firſt perſon that took notice of the conveniency of this ſituation for the carrying on of commerce. But for the latter derivation there is no good authority.

THE

THE ſpeedy increaſe of this colony, and the great reſort of merchants from Bardewicke, gave umbrage to Henry the Lion. But the city having been burned down in 1156, he prevailed on count Adolphus to reſign it to him: upon which it was rebuilt, and erected into a free port. In 1158 it was favoured by Henry with the famous municipal laws, which took their riſe from thoſe of Soeſt in Weſtphalia, known by the name of Jus Soſatenſe. But of this ancient body of laws, as likewiſe of thoſe of Lubeck, called Jus Lubicenſe, we ſhall treat more particularly in another place. The Jus Lubicenſe was confirmed to that city in 1188 by Frederick Barbaroſſa, and afterwards by ſucceeding emperors. Henry the Lion being put under the ban of the empire, Lubeck ſubmitted in 1182 to Frederick Barbaroſſa, who favoured it with the title of an Imperial city. In 1189 it was recovered by duke Henry; but in 1192 it fell to Adolphus count of Holſtein, from whom it was wreſted in 1202 by Waldemar duke of Sleſwick, afterwards king of Denmark. In 1226 it threw off the Daniſh yoke, and has ever ſince continued a free Imperial city.

THE biſhopric of Lubeck was firſt eſtabliſhed by the emperor Otho I. at Aldenburg, and removed to Lubeck in 1163 by Henry the Lion, with the conſent of Frederick Barbaroſſa; though the biſhop often lived at Eutin, which is ſtill the epiſcopal reſidence. In 1530 this city embraced the Proteſtant religion. In 1586 John Adolphus, the third ſon of the duke of Holſtein Gottorp, was elected biſhop of Lubeck; and ever ſince this dignity has been conſidered as an appanage for the younger ſons of that illuſtrious houſe. But by an agreement at Gluckſtadt in 1667, between the king of Denmark and the branch of Gottorp, the princes of the royal family are to be alternately choſen. Such were the revolutions of this great city, which is indebted to the Venedic princes for its original and increaſe, till it roſe to the dignity of a free ſtate, and was placed at the head of the Hanſeatic confederacy.

We return now to Pribiſlaus, who was ſtripped of his inheritance by the Rugians, and driven into exile. From that time Wagria and the country of the Polabi ceaſed to be a part of the Venedic dominions. Such was the ill policy of the two brothers in dividing their territories, and not obſerving either the right of primogeniture, or the form of a joint regency. Concerning the fate of that unhappy prince, after the revolution in Wagria, there are various conjectures. Some affirm, that he was taken priſoner by Ratzo; but Helmoldus, as we have already obſerved, ſeems to contradict that opinion. There is an old tradition, that this prince, upon the irruption of the Rugians, retired among the Stoderani and Hevelli of the Middle Marck, who gave him a moſt hoſpitable reception; that he embraced Chriſtianity in that country, and at his death appointed Albert the Bear his heir. The only argument in ſupport of that tradition is this: It is beyond all doubt, that the Stoderani and Hevelli were ſubject to Henry king of the Venedi; at leaſt it has been ſhewn, that they were obliged to pay tribute to that prince. Now we do not find it recorded, that they threw off this ſubjection under the government of the ſons and grandſon of Henry; nor is it probable they would attempt it during the proſperous days of Pribiſlaus. The reſpect which the Venedi bore to the reigning family, muſt therefore have induced, if not obliged, the Stoderani and Hevelli to make him amends by their ſubmiſſion and good behaviour, for the loſſes he had ſuſtained in Wagria and the country of the Polabi. This argument indeed is founded on conjecture, but receives a conſiderable addition of ſtrength from the authority of the old Chronicon Brandenburgicum, of which Maderus * has preſerved the following extract. "Stugerus, the thirteenth biſhop of Brandenburg, was "promoted to this ſee in 1139. He poſſeſſed it twenty-one "years, died in 1161, and was interred in the chapel of Bran-"denburg. In that prelate's time there was a king Henry in "Brandenburg, who, in the Sclavonian language, was named

Conjectures concerning the fate of Pribiſlaus.

* Page 724.

"Pri-

" Pribiſlaus. This prince, having embraced Chriſtianity in this " country, deſtroyed the idol known by the name of Triglau " in the Sclavonian tongue, as alſo ſeveral other idols; and, re- " nouncing the falſe religion of his own nation, appointed Al- " bert the Bear to be his heir." The time and the name agree exactly with our Pribiſlaus; and that after he was driven out of Wagria he ſhould be named Henry at his baptiſm, in honour of his uncle, is not at all improbable.

NEITHER can the diſtance of this period from the deceaſe of his father Buthue, be any objection; for he was only three years old, when Buthue was put to death by Cruco, and he was not yet fourſcore when he departed this life in 1147. Much leſs will it ſignify to object his not leaving his eſtate to his brother Niclotus. Pribiſlaus's (or Henry's) zeal for Chriſtianity might have determined him to make ſuch a diſpoſition, as he was ſenſible of Niclotus's inveterate hatred to that religion *.

NOTWITHSTANDING this tradition, there are who pretend, that after Pribiſlaus was expelled from Wagria by the Rugians, he retired to the Ucker Marck in Brandenburg, and built the town of Prenzlau, ſo called from his name; that he was taken priſoner in that country by Albert of Brandenburg, ſurnamed the Bear, againſt whom he had waged war; that Albert held him in durance till he died in 1147; that he became a Chriſtian in his captivity, Albert ſtanding godfather to him; and that he made Albert his heir through fear and compulſion; in fine, that this was the reaſon why Niclotus paid no regard to that diſpoſition after Pribiſlaus's deceaſe, but laid claim to Wagria, and to all the other dominions of the kings of the Venedi and Obotrites †. We have thought proper to give both theſe accounts; but the latter is not ſupported by the teſtimonyof any ancient hiſtorian; whereas the former, de-

* Gebhardi. † Krantz. Helmold. Banger. Chemnitz. Kirchberg. Corner. Latom. Sax. Beehr, Kluver, Buckholtz.

rived from the above Chronicle, has a very high degree of probability.

PRIBISLAUS is ſaid to have married Petriſſa, a princeſs of Norway, daughter of Harold king of Denmark; but this ſeems to be an imaginary perſon, for neither the third nor fourth Daniſh king of that name could poſſibly be his father-in-law; the former having reſigned his laſt breath in 1062, and the latter having not entered the matrimonial ſtate till 1135. But the Pomeranian writers mention a ſon of Pribiſlaus's ſiſter, named Jaczon, who having been driven out of his own country by Albert the Bear, took refuge in Pomerania, where he was well received, and founded the family of the counts of Guzkow. This is corroborated by Schwarzius in his deſcription of Germania Borealis *.

* Helmold. Krantz. Bangert. Orig. Lubec. Marſhal. Deflorat Antiq. Saxo. Corner. Kirchberg, Spener, Hubner, Beehr, Gebhardi.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

From the death of Pribiſlaus I. in 1142 or 1147, to the death of Niclotus in 1161.

Niclotus's conduct with regard to Wagria. War with Denmark. Treaty with count Adolphus. Origin of the croiſades. Croiſade againſt the Venedi. Behaviour of count Adolphus. Niclotus commences hoſtilities in Wagria. Gallant behaviour of a prieſt at Suſle. Operations of the confederates. Peace concluded. Affairs of the church. Affairs of the empire continued. Helmoldus's travels among the Venedi. State of Chriſtianity in Wagria. Civil war in Denmark. Sweyn recovers his crown by the aid of Niclotus. War with Denmark. Quarrel between Niclotus and Henry the Lion. Affairs of the empire. Henry the Lion declares war againſt Niclotus. The croiſade revived againſt the Venedi. Operations of duke Henry's army. Death of Niclotus, His character and iſſue.

NICLOTUS Alone,

KING of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES.

EMPERORS of GERMANY,

CONRAD III. 1138. FREDERICK BARBAROSSA, 1152.

KINGS of ENGLAND,

STEPHEN, 1135. HENRY II. 1154.

THE revolution in Wagria proved a fatal blow to the royal family of the Venedi. The loſs of a fruitful and populous province, which had been a barrier againſt the Saxons and the Danes, left the Obotrites more expoſed to the inroads of a mercileſs and implacable enemy. By means of the new colonies with which this country was peopled, the Saxon princes covered their own frontiers, and were enabled to make a farther

Niclotus's conduct with regard to Wagria.

progreſs

progreſs in their incurſions on Vandalia, under the pretext of propagating Chriſtianity, But it ſeems very aſtoniſhing, that while the Saxons were taking ſuch ſtrides to enſlave, or rather to extirpate the Venedi, no oppoſition was formed againſt them for a long time by Niclotus, to whoſe ſhare the territory of the Obotrites had devolved. During the conteſt between the Rugians and Pribiſlaus, he ſeems to have remained a quiet ſpectator; and nothing but the prejudice he might conceive againſt his brother on the article of religion, can account for the ſingularity of his conduct. But when the Rugians were diſpoſſeſſed of that province, and their place ſupplied by ſuch ſwarms of Saxon and Friſian adventurers, that he ſhould take no ſtep either for maintaining his right to that province, or for ſupporting the Rugians, who were a Venedic nation, and of the ſame religion as himſelf, is beyond all comprehenſion; yet no mention is made of either; and his inactivity on that occaſion is an enigma in hiſtory, which at this diſtance of time we find no poſſibility of ſolving. But our ſurprize is ſtill encreaſed, when we come to reflect that this prince wanted neither abilities nor courage; and, by the vigorous ſtand which he afterwards made againſt ſo many powerful enemies, he ſhewed himſelf worthy of the greateſt command. He was ſtrongly attached to the religious rites and ceremonies of his anceſtors, yet he never attempted to propagate thoſe rites by the ſword; and if he committed any ſeverities againſt the Chriſtians, it was againſt thoſe who were at open war with him, and declared enemies to his country and religion. His diſpoſition was rather pacific and humane, and whenever he was rouſed to acts of hoſtility, it was to ſave his ſubjects from ruin, and to repel the attacks of an implacable confederacy. He married a Swediſh princeſs named Amelia, by whom he had three ſons, Priſclavus *, Pribiſlaus, and Wertiſlaus.

War with Denmark.

Soon after his acceſſion to the government, Niclotus had been obliged to maintain a war againſt Eric king of Denmark,

* This prince is not mentioned in the ſecond table prefixed to this work, becauſe the hiſtorians of Mecklenburg take no notice of him; yet from the Daniſh hiſtory we have indubitable authority for ranking him among the ſons of Niclotus.

who,

who, to expreſs myſelf in the terms of the Daniſh writers, took up arms againſt the Venedi, to puniſh theſe people for their repeated depredations. Thus either piracy or idolatry was a ſure pretence for the Danes and Saxons to quarrel with this unfortunate nation. The truth is, the crown of Denmark was almoſt perpetually at war with the maritime towns of the Venedi, which, in the middle ages, were diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Vandalic cities; and the captors on both ſides, from mutual hatred and prejudice, were ſtigmatized with the odious appellation of pirates. The particulars of this Daniſh war have not reached our times: it was but of ſhort duration, and terminated greatly to the honour of the Venedi. Eric, after fitting out a fleet, was ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed by indolence, that he loitered upon the coaſt of Zealand, without keeping a proper guard to watch the motions of the enemy. In conſequence of this neglect, he was ſurprized by the Venedic fleet, and narrowly eſcaped being taken priſoner. His fondneſs for his young wife is ſaid to have ſo enervated his mind, as to render him inſenſible to every other ſatisfaction than that which he found in her company. After this ſhameful flight, he returned home, and never made any attempt to wipe off the diſgrace. But ſuch ſcandalous behaviour having rendered him contemptible to his ſubjects, he grew tired of government, and withdrew to a cloiſter in the town of Odenſee, where he ended his days. His meekneſs and ſimplicity obtained him the ſurname of Lamb.

Treaty with count Adolphus.

DURING theſe tranſactions, count Adolphus was employed in ſettling his new colony in Wagria after the expulſion of the Rugians. In order to provide for the ſecurity of that province, he was deſirous of entering into an alliance with Niclotus, the only neighbouring prince from whom he could poſſibly apprehend any danger. But dubious of his ſucceſs, on account of the juſt pretenſions which Niclotus himſelf had to Wagria, he applied himſelf clandeſtinely to the nobility who attended that prince, and, by means of conſiderable bribes, gained them over to his intereſt. Unfortunately, the courts of princes have been in all ages acceſſible to corruption; and the ſovereign who is de-

ſirous of maintaining his juſt rights, is too often diſappointed in his laudable views by the venality of his ſervants. Adolphus having effected his purpoſe with the nobility, ſent a deputation to propoſe an alliance with Niclotus: and the negociation being ſet on foot, a treaty between the two princes was ſoon concluded. The count improved this circumſtance to the ſtrengthening of his colony. He promoted the commercial arts, and enlarged the privileges of the new adventurers. His zeal for the advancement of Chriſtianity was ſo great, that, upon an application from Wicelinus, he ordered a reſtitution of the church lands, which had been aſſigned by the emperor Lotharius for the maintenance of the monaſtery of Sigeberg. In ſhort, this wiſe prince had taken every ſtep conducive to the proſperity of his people, and for cementing the alliance with Niclotus, when the public tranquillity was diſturbed by a croiſade or religious war, which had been levelled at firſt againſt the Saracens, but was afterwards extended to the Pagans in the north of Europe, by whom were chiefly meant the Venedi. Theſe unfortunate people were threatened with no leſs than the utter extirpation of their whole race, unleſs they would conſent to embrace Chriſtianity.

Origin of the croiſades.

THE method of propagating religion by the ſword ſeems to have been firſt deviſed by the impoſtor Mahomet, whoſe fanatic arms had eſtabliſhed the Koran wherever he extended his empire. The example was followed by Charlemagne, who converted the Saxons by a bloody war, or more properly a horrid perſecution, which laſted near thirty years; and what ſhews the unaccountable caprice of mankind, the Saxons afterwards practiſed the ſame inhuman method againſt the Venedi. This way of converting people, was found ſo compendious and effectual, that it was afterwards adopted by the Danes and Swedes, and indiſcriminately uſed againſt all the enemies of the Latin church, whether Pagans or Mahometans, or thoſe who were ſtigmatized by the odious appellation of heretics. The expeditions againſt the Mahometans were commonly called Croiſades, a name derived from the ſign of the croſs, which they

they who inliſted in the ſacred warfare generally wore on their right ſhoulder. The firſt expedition of this kind was ſet on foot in 1095 at the council of Clermont in Auvergne, in conſequence of the inſults and indignities which the pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre ſuffered from the Turkiſh Mahometans, who, in the year 1065, had wreſted that country from the Saracens. The complaints of thoſe pilgrims raiſed the indignation of all Europe; and the council having determined it to be the will of God that the Holy City ſhould be reſcued out of the hands of Infidels, an infinite number of people, of all ranks and conditions, embarked in the enterprize, as the only way to open the road to heaven: for to engage in the holy war, as they called it, was repreſented as an equivalent for all penances, and an atonement for every ſort of crime. At length, after a variety of diſaſters, in which great numbers of this formidable hoſt unfortunately periſhed, the remainder of their forces penetrated into Meſopotamia, and, after making themſelves maſters of Edeſſa, laid ſiege to Jeruſalem, which was taken by ſtorm in 1099. Godfrey of Bouillon was elected king of that city; and two other petty ſtates were afterwards formed, thoſe of Antioch and Edeſſa. But the diſcord of the Croiſaders proved, in a ſhort time, moſt fatal to the Chriſtian cauſe: theſe new ſtates grew jealous of each other; they were divided and ſubdivided, and paſſed into ſeveral hands; and the different princes or leaders, as well as the whole race of the conquerors, were ſunk into effeminacy. The ſtrength of the Chriſtians decreaſing every day, Edeſſa was retaken by the Turks in 1140; and Jeruſalem being alſo threatened, the Chriſtians of Aſia finding themſelves in danger of being ſwallowed up, applied to Europe for another croiſade.

THE complaints of the eaſtern Chriſtians reached the ears of pope Eugenius III. who made uſe of a perſon of great eloquence, as well as ſanctity of life, the famous Bernard abbot of Clervaux, to preach a ſecond croiſade. Bernard's eloquence had a ſurprizing effect, and the ſpirit of the times co-operating with his rhetoric, he prevailed on immenſe numbers in France to devote themſelves to this enthuſiaſtic ſervice. Lewis the Young, 1146.

king of France, took the croſs from his hands, and the greateſt part of the nobility imitated his example. From France he went into Germany, where he preached the croiſade with the ſame ſucceſs, and perſuaded the emperor Conrad II. to join in this ſacred enterprize. He promiſed him ſucceſs over the Infidels; but the event proved that he was not a prophet. A diet, however, was held at Frankfort, where the preparations for the
1147. croiſade were adjuſted, and the emperor's ſon Henry was elected king of the Romans; but this prince did not ſurvive his father. The forces deſtined to act againſt the infidels were divided into three bodies; one, under the command of the emperor in perſon, was to march into the Eaſt againſt the Turks; another was deſigned againſt the Moors in Portugal; and a third was to penetrate into the country of the Venedi, in order to compel thoſe people to embrace the Chriſtian religion. In this aſſembly, Henry the Lion demanded the duchy of Bavaria, which had been wreſted from his father, and he threatened to recover it by force of arms from Henry of Auſtria. The emperor having deferred the deciſion of that affair till his return from the Holy Land, began his march with a very formidable army. But the
1147. greateſt part of this army periſhed by ſickneſs and intemperance, whence the Greek emperors are charged by the credulous writers of thoſe days with poiſoning the fountains. In ſhort, the undertaking proved unſucceſsful; and Conrad, having ſacrificed a very fine army, returned the next year, without reaping any
1148. laurels, to his own dominions. A thouſand deſolated families uttered bitter invectives againſt St. Bernard; but the good abbot imputed the whole miſcarriage to the irregular lives of the Croiſaders, and compared himſelf to Moſes, who had promiſed the Iſraelites to lead them into a country flowing with milk and honey, yet ſaw the firſt generation periſh in the deſerts *.

Croiſade againſt the Venedi.

BUT the chief cauſe of the miſcarriage of thoſe great armies was the want of harmony among their leaders, which prevented them from acting with their united force, and enabled the enemy to baffle all their impotent efforts. The ſame cauſe preſerved the

* Helmold. Krantz. Beehr, Kluv. Heiſſe, Pfeffel, Barre, Maimburg.

Venedi

Venedi this time from ruin, when nothing leſs than the utter extirpation of the whole nation was generally apprehended. The chief leaders in the Venedic croiſade, that is, for carrying on a barbarous and moſt deſtructive war againſt an innocent people, were the miniſters of peace, the biſhops of Hamburg, Magdeburg, Halberſtadt, Munſter, Merſeburg, and Brandenburg, with ſeveral abbots. Theſe good prelates undertook to convert the Venedi to the Chriſtian faith by the irrefragable arguments of an army of an hundred thouſand men, under the command of Henry the Lion duke of Saxony, Conrad duke of Zaringe, Albert marquis of Soltwedel, and Conrad de Within. But religion was here only a tool, which artful leaders too often and too ſucceſsfully make uſe of to actuate the minds of the vulgar. Moſt of thoſe princes had their own views of intereſt to ſerve; cupidity and avarice induced great multitudes to co-operate with their ambition; the fertility of Vandalia was a tempting bait to them all; ſo that the hopes of dividing the ſpoils, and parcelling out the conquered lands, was a greater inducement to take up the croſs, than the expectation or deſire of ſaving the ſouls of poor infidels. And we ſhall preſently find that Henry the Lion, after putting himſelf at the head of the Croiſaders, in order to convert the Pagans, ſoon turned his arms againſt the Chriſtians, in hopes of recovering Bavaria, of which he had been diveſted by the emperor Conrad.

Ungenerous behaviour of count Adolphus.

NICLOTUS ſeeing a cloud big with ruin and horror hanging over his kingdom, ſummoned a general aſſembly of the nation, on purpoſe to acquaint them with their perilous ſituation, and to prepare for a vigorous defence. At the ſame time he began to fortify the town of Dubin, ſituated in the duchy of Wenden, upon the lake of Krakow, that it might ſerve for a place of ſhelter to his people, to ſecure their moſt valuable effects. He then diſpatched a truſty meſſenger to count Adolphus, reminding that prince of the treaty lately concluded between the two houſes, and deſiring the favour of a conference, in order to concert matters for their mutual defence. The count ungeneroufly declined the interview, and pleaded as an excuſe, his apprehenſion of giving umbrage to ſo potent a confederacy.

But fidelity to engagements is the bond that unites and cements the intereſts of princes; and if the fear of danger were a juſt apology for not performing the conditions of treaties, ſuch a pretext would be of the moſt pernicious conſequence to ſtates, as it might eaſily defeat the end of all alliances. Niclotus being ſeized with a juſt indignation at this behaviour, wrote to Adolphus in the following manner: "You cannot be ignorant of the great "punctuality with which I have hitherto conformed to my en- "gagements; how true I have been to your intereſt; and what "pains I have taken to check the reſentment of my people, and "prevent them from injuring thoſe foreigners whom you have "lately invited to ſettle in Wagria. You muſt alſo be ſenſible "of the complaints my ſubjects raiſe againſt ſuch ſettlements, "that their eſtates have been given away to aliens, and that "they have been moſt unjuſtly deprived of their paternal in- "heritance. But I have given a deaf ear to their complaints, "leſt I ſhould be tempted to violate my promiſes to you, and "in hopes I ſhould find you true, as I have been, to our alli- "ance. But how great was my ſurprize at your declaration in "anſwer to my late meſſage! Is this the return you make to your "ally, who implores your aid in the moſt urgent neceſſity? is "it thus you deſert your friend, when he moſt ſtands in need "of your aſſiſtance? The trial, indeed, is moſt ſevere; but it "has convinced me of the deceitfulneſs of your heart, and the "fallacy of human friendſhips. Yet know, perfidious man, that "I ſhall not die unrevenged: hitherto I have prevailed on the "Venedi, not to offer any violence to you or your new colony; "now I will take off all reſtraint, and permit them to indulge "their rage, to waſte your lands, and to riot in the blood of "your people. Such ſhall be the reward of your treachery, ſuch "your puniſhment for refuſing to have a conference with a "prince, whom you were bound to aſſiſt by the ties of gratitude, "and by the moſt ſolemn engagements."

Niclotus commences hoſtilities in Wagria.

NICLOTUS now deſpairing of any aſſiſtance from Adolphus, and having certain intelligence that the confederate princes were fully bent upon his deſtruction, reſolved, like a wiſe and prudent general,

general, not to wait till they entered his dominions, but to diſtreſs them in their march, and retard their approach, by invading the province of Wagria. Intending to ſurprize the enemy, he embarked a body of troops on board a fleet, and ſailed to the mouth of the river Trave, where he landed his men with the utmoſt expedition. From thence he directed his march to the city of Lubeck, and found the place quite defenceleſs, in conſequence of the joyous celebration of the feaſt of St. John and Paul. The inhabitants were not employed in prayer, but unfortunately happened to be intoxicated with wine, which rendered them quite incapable of repelling the attack of an enemy. The Venedi meeting with no oppoſition, ſet fire to the ſhips in the harbour, which were all conſumed, together with their valuable cargoes. Upwards of three hundred people were put to the ſword, and, among the reſt, Rudolphus, a Saxon prieſt, whoſe death was greatly lamented. From thence a body of Venedic horſe ſpread themſelves over the country, and demoliſhed every thing they found in the ſuburb of Sigeberg. They likewiſe ſet fire to the village of Dargun, and laid waſte the new plantations below the Trave, which belonged to the Weſtphalians, Friſians, and Hollanders. And indeed it was chiefly againſt theſe new adventurers that the indignation of the Venedi ſeemed to be levelled; they ſpared the Holſatians, as in ſome meaſure their old acquaintance and friends; but they conſidered the others as uſurpers of their eſtates, and as foreign intruders, with whom they had no connections of alliance or friendſhip. In ſhort, they killed every man among them whom they found in arms, and carried their wives and children into captivity.

Gallant behaviour of a prieſt at Suſle.

In the midſt of theſe commotions, we muſt not omit the gallant defence made by an handful of Friſians at the village of Suſle. The Venedi having over-run the whole province of Wagria, arrived at this village, inhabited by a colony of about four hundred men; but there were not above one hundred of them in the place at that time, the remainder being returned to their own country, in order to ſettle their domeſtic affairs. The Venedic troops, conſiſting of three thouſand men, ſet fire to all the ave-

nues

nues upon their firſt approach, and began to attack the town with the utmoſt vigour; but perceiving, by the brave reſiſtance they met with, that they were likely to pay dear for their victory, they propoſed terms of capitulation, and offered not to touch the lives or limbs of the inhabitants, if they would but quit the fortreſs, and lay down their arms. The people in the town ſeemed inclined to accept of theſe conditions in hopes of preſerving their lives, when a prieſt named Gerlavus (a name worthy of being conſigned to immortality) diſſuaded them from this meaſure by the following harangue: "Friends and countrymen, "conſider well the conſequence of ſurrendering to the enemy. "Do you imagine that this ſubmiſſion will be the means of "preſerving your lives? or that there is any faith in thoſe bar-"barians? If ſuch be your notions, you will find yourſelves "greatly miſtaken. Can you be ignorant, that of all foreigners "the Friſians are the moſt odious to the Venedi? our very name "they hold in deteſtation. Why then ſhould you wantonly "expoſe your lives, and ruſh headlong to deſtruction? I con-"jure you by the Great Creator of this univerſal frame, who "is able to protect this handful of men againſt any numbers; "I conjure you, I ſay, to exert your ſtrength, and be not afraid "of entering the liſts with your enemies. So long as we are "encompaſſed by this encloſure, we are maſters of our hands, "maſters of our weapons, and have hopes of ſaving our lives; "but when once we are diſarmed, our fate muſt be an igno-"minious death. Take then your ſwords, which the enemy "are ſo eager to wreſt from you without fighting, drench them "in their blood, and revenge the loſs of your friends and rela-"tions; let them ſee a ſpecimen of your courage; let them "know you are men, and that you are determined to ſell your "lives to a barbarous enemy as dear as poſſible." Having pronounced theſe words, he exhibited an extraordinary example of magnanimity; for throwing open the gates, and attended only by one companion, who was emulous of his glory, he ruſhed forward towards the enemy, drove them before him with incredible impetuoſity, and hewed great numbers of them in pieces.

Though

Though he loſt an eye in the action, and was wounded in the belly, he ſtill continued to defend himſelf like a hero, and as if ſome heavenly vigour had animated his arm: his example being followed by the reſt of the inhabitants, the town of Suſle was preſerved from falling into the hands of the Venedi *. We have given the whole of this tranſaction, as one of the gallanteſt exploits in hiſtory, and more worthy of being recorded than the ſcenes of devaſtation, with which the lives of ſo many ancient and modern conquerors are embelliſhed.

1148. Operations of the confederates.

THE news of this invaſion having reached the ears of count Adolphus, made him haſten his preparations in order to repel the enemy: but they had done their buſineſs: after laying waſte the province of Wagria, they re-imbarked for their own country, loaded with ſpoils, and carrying with them a prodigious number of captives. In the mean time, the report was ſpread throughout Germany, that the Venedi had commenced the war, and committed hoſtilities; upon which the army of the croiſaders advanced with the utmoſt expedition, and penetrating into the territory of the Venedi, retaliated the ravages lately committed in Wagria. Revenge and religious zeal both concurred to inſpire them with fierceneſs, and made them eager to rival their enemies in barbarity. The more effectually to reduce the Venedic nation, Pope Eugene III. had negotiated a temporary reconciliation between Sweyn III. and Canute V. (competitors for the Daniſh crown, after the death of Eric the Lamb,) which ended in a confederacy and junction of their forces. No ſooner were the Danes arrived on the enemy's coaſt, than they were joined by the Saxons, and the fleet was divided into three ſquadrons, which were to make their ſeveral attacks. Sweyn, who commanded the expedition, was unfortunate: for the Rugians having entered into an alliance with Niclotus, in ſupport of the common cauſe, deſtroyed great part of his fleet; and, purſuing their advantages, made a deſcent in Fionia, where they ravaged the country, and

* Helmoldus does not tell us whether this gallant prieſt was killed or not. But it ſeems moſt likely that he periſhed, by his comparing him to the Maccabees.

reduced

reduced the town of Odenſee to aſhes. Thus the Danes, who expected to recover the honour they had loſt in the expedition under the late king, and who had been animated by the powerful incentives of glory and religion, were baffled notwithſtanding in all their attempts by an inferior enemy, and met with the moſt humiliating diſaſters.

DURING theſe operations at ſea, the confederate army divided itſelf into two bodies, one of which laid ſiege to the town of Dubin, and the other to Dimin, both of them ſtrongly fortified; the former was ſituated in the neighbourhood of Mecklenburg, the latter on the frontiers of Pomerania. An auxiliary corps of Danes joined the camp before Dubin, and preſſed the ſiege with the utmoſt vigour. The garriſon made a very gallant defence, and by frequent ſallies harraſſed the beſiegers. The Daniſh quarters, being ſeparated from the reſt of the army by a moraſs, the governor of the town ordered his men to attack them in the night, which they executed with ſucceſs, and put numbers of the enemy to the ſword. So ſhameful a diſgrace exaſperating the beſiegers, the operations againſt the town were carried on with greater vigour than ever, when jealouſies began to riſe among the confederates, which defeated the end of all thoſe mighty preparations, and preſerved the country for that time from ruin. The generals belonging to the duke of Saxony and to the margrave of Brandenburg began to reflect, that to puſh thoſe people too hard would drive them to deſpair, and redound in the end to the diſadvantage of their maſters; that the Danes would want to come in for a ſhare of the ſpoils, ſo that the country would be entirely ruined and impoveriſhed; but by uſing their ſucceſs with moderation, and treating the inhabitants with lenity, they ſhould conciliate their good will, which would render them the more ready to ſubmit, and to act as friends and vaſſals to the Empire. Theſe conſiderations induced the commanders to ſlacken their operations; and whenever the garriſon were repulſed in a ſally, the beſiegers were reſtrained from the purſuit, and from
1148. ſtorming the town. The ſiege being thus ſpun out to a great length, the troops grew tired, and a negotiation being ſet on foot,

foot, a treaty of peace was ſoon concluded. The principal articles were, That the Daniſh priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty; and the Venedi ſhould all receive the ſacrament of baptiſm: this was making hypocrites of them, and not Chriſtians; but what other effect could be expected from the zeal of miſſionaries, who had recourſe to the ſword as the chief inſtrument of converſion? Thus ended this formidable expedition; which, from the number and force of the confederates, ſeemed to portend the utter ruin of this declining monarchy. But the jealouſy and diviſion of the allies, as much as the valour and good conduct of Niclotus, preſerved the country of Vandalia this time from deſtruction.

1148. Peace concluded.

UPON the concluſion of the peace, many of the Venedi were baptized merely out of form, and ſome of the Daniſh priſoners, that is, the old and infirm, as the writers of that nation complain, were ſet at liberty. But the ancient enmity between the two nations was ſoon revived, ſo that the Venedi returned to the Pagan worſhip, and their uſual incurſions againſt the Danes. Count Adolphus renewed the treaty of alliance with Niclotus and the Eaſtern Venedi, with an intention of eaſing his people of the heavy burthens they had ſuſtained during the late war. He likewiſe expended great ſums in relieving ſuch of his ſubjects as groaned under the weight of captivity; and Wicelinus exerted himſelf in alleviating their diſtreſſes.

1149. Affairs of the church.

THE public tranquility being re-eſtabliſhed, Hartwicus archbiſhop of Bremen propoſed to reſtore the three epiſcopal ſees among the Venedi, which had been vacant now eighty-four years ſince the ſubverſion of Chriſtianity in that country; theſe ſees were Aldenburg, Ratzeburg, and Mecklenburg. He therefore ſent for Wicelinus, that venerable eccleſiaſtic, who had acted thirty years as a miſſionary in thoſe parts, and ordained him biſhop of Aldenburg; at the ſame time he conſecrated Emmehardus biſhop of Mecklenburg; and ſent them both among the Venedi to exerciſe their paſtoral functions. But this being done without the knowledge and participation of Henry the Lion and count Adolphus, the good underſtanding which had

long ſubſiſted between thoſe princes and Wicelinus was intirely interrupted. The count withdrawing the tythes from the new biſhop, the latter made his complaint and ſubmiſſion to Henry the Lion, by whom he had always been treated with the profoundeſt reſpect. The duke entertained him with great kindneſs, and promiſed to forget what had paſſed, if he would receive the inveſtiture of the ſee of Aldenburg from his hands. At that time, the diſputes about inveſtitures ran very high, and as all Germany, and indeed all Europe, was concerned in the quarrel, it may be proper to give the reader ſome idea of its origin. The term inveſtiture imports the grant of a fief, eſtate, or dignity, from the lord to his vaſſal, upon condition of allegiance and certain ſervices. This was performed with particular ceremonies, by putting into the hands of the vaſſal ſome ſymbol of the gift thus conferred. Into the hands of biſhops and abbots, after they had begun to poſſeſs fiefs, it was cuſtomary for princes to put a paſtoral ſtaff, or a croſs and ring, as a mark of their dignity. The popes at length attacked not only this ceremony, as a ſymbol of eccleſiaſtical power in the prince or lord, but even the inveſtiture itſelf, and forbad the biſhops to yield homage to princes. Such a prohibition gave riſe to violent quarrels between ſeveral emperors and the ſee of Rome; and theſe were not appeaſed till the pontificate of Calixtus II. when the ceremony of the ring and paſtoral ſtaff was retrenched, but the emperor continued in poſſeſſion of all his other rights of ſovereignty. At the preſent period, the power of conferring inveſtitures for biſhoprics was ſuppoſed to belong to the emperor only; and Wicelinus, apprehenſive of incurring the diſpleaſure of that prince, deſired that Henry the Lion would grant him ſome time to conſider the matter. In this ſuſpence of mind he applied to the archbiſhop Hartwicus, who adviſed him by no means to receive any inveſtiture from the duke. His arguments are very extraordinary, and ſhew to what a height the eccleſiaſtical power was arrived in that century: He ſaid, that to receive an inveſtiture from the emperor was no diſgrace; ſince by the liberality of thoſe princes the clergy had acquired great riches;

nor

nor need they bluſh to ſtoop to one, by whom they had been raiſed to preſide over multitudes. But when dukes or marquiſſes aim at granting inveſtitures to eccleſiaſtics, the conſequence is dangerous; ſince by ſuch means thoſe princes withdraw themſelves from their dependance on the church; and the clergy, on the other hand, ſet a very bad example to their brethren, by acknowledging themſelves ſervants to thoſe, over whom they have a ſpiritual dominion. But the duke inſiſting on his right and prerogative, a rupture enſued, and he withdrew his protection and aid from the biſhop. Wicelinus, though debarred from the temporalities of his ſee, did not neglect the duties of his function, but made a viſitation over all his dioceſe. At Cuzeline, otherwiſe called Hogereſtorp, he conſecrated an oratory, and a church at Bornhovede, a town ſituated at the very ſpring of the famous lake, which by the preſent inhabitants is called Schmalen See. From thence he proceeded to New Lubeck, and conſecrated an altar in that city. His next ſtage was to Aldenburg, once an epiſcopal ſee, where he met with a very civil reception from the Pagan inhabitants. The Saxons of that age ſtigmatize them by the name of barbarians; but nothing can be a ſtronger proof of their being a civilized people, than their hoſpitality, even to thoſe who were declared enemies of their religion. The idol Prowe was then in great veneration in that city; and the prieſt's name who directed that ſuperſtitious worſhip was Mike. The lord or prince of Aldenburg named Rochel, was a grandſon of Cruco, and is characterized by the Saxons as an idolater and a pirate; that is, being generally at war with the Danes, he cruized on their coaſts. To theſe people Wicelinus preached the Goſpel with very great ardor and zeal, but did not meet with much ſucceſs; yet inſtead of being diſcouraged, he put himſelf to the expence of building a chapel near the ruins of the old town, where divine ſervice was performed for the uſe of thoſe Chriſtians, whom commercial views might invite to that neighbourhood *.

* Helmoldus.

1150. Affairs of the empire.

DURING this interval Henry the Lion, having raiſed a conſiderable army, reſolved to aſſert his claim to the different poſſeſſions, of which his father had been unjuſtly deprived. This was partly his view in concluding a peace with Niclotus, that he might be at leiſure to attack the margrave of Auſtria, while the emperor was detained in the Holy Land. Before he began his march he received a viſit from Wicelinus, who was coming to ſolicit the reſtitution of his epiſcopal revenues: the duke was inflexible, unleſs the biſhop would ſubmit to the condition of the inveſtiture, which at length he was obliged to comply with: the affair was amicably ſettled; the duke gave him the village of Buzoe, and the count granted him a moiety of the tythes. Henry then committed the care of his Saxon dominions to count Adolphus, ſubject, however, to his ducheſs Clementina, who reſided at Lunenburg. Having prepared every thing for this expedition, he put the troops in motion, and directed his march towards the duchy of Bavaria. The emperor Conrad III. happening to return at this juncture from Paleſtine, the margrave Henry of Auſtria applied to that prince, to divert the duke of Saxony from attempting this invaſion. In order to effect a reconciliation, a diet was appointed at Wurtzburg, at which Henry the Lion refuſed to appear. The emperor then formed a ſcheme to excite the city of Brunſwick to a revolt, in the abſence of its ſovereign. Henry being apprized of this deſign, haſtened back to Brunſwick, and after putting that city into a good poſture of defence, diſpoſed his troops for puſhing on the war with the greateſt vigour. In the midſt of theſe commotions, the enemy

1152. of the Guelphic houſe, Conrad III. departed this life at Bamberg. He was never crowned emperor, which is the reaſon that in his diplomas he ſtiles himſelf only king of the Romans. After his deceaſe the German princes, aſſembling at Frankfort, elected, in purſuance of his recommendation, his nephew Frederick, ſurnamed Barbaroſſa, or Red-Beard. Frederick was then at the age of twenty-nine, and being couſin-german to Henry the Lion *, the affairs of this prince began to aſſume a favoura-

* His mother Judith was Henry the Lion's aunt.

ble

ble aſpect. A diet was ſummoned at Merſeburg, where the emperor inveſted duke Guelph, uncle to Henry the Lion, with the lands belonging to the inheritance of the counteſs Matilda. But the difference between the margrave of Auſtria and the duke of Saxony, in relation to the duchy of Bavaria, was not finally adjuſted till after Frederick's return from his firſt expedition into Italy.

1150. Diſturbances among the Venedi.

WHILE Henry the Lion was attempting the recovery of Bavaria, the Kiſſini and Circipani roſe up in arms, refuſing to pay the tribute impoſed by the late treaty with Henry. The revolt muſt have been general, ſince Niclotus was unable to reduce the inſurgents to reaſon. It ſeems that this prince was ſincerely deſirous of obſerving the late treaty, and avoiding any farther quarrel with the Saxons, which might entangle him in new wars, and expoſe him to the ſame danger as that which ſo lately had threatened his deſtruction. In order to demonſtrate his pacific intentions, he paid a viſit to the ducheſs Clementina at Lunenburg, and acquainted that princeſs with the ſtate of the revolted provinces, and ſhewed the neceſſity of ſending ſome troops to his aſſiſtance. If this application was not founded rather in policy than neceſſity, it is a moſt convincing argument of the diminution of his power, which obliged him to ſue for ſuccours to the Saxons, the ancient enemies of his family, in order to quell the inſurrections of his own ſubjects.

THE ducheſs received Niclotus with all the reſpect due to his rank, and commiſſioned count Adolphus to march to the aſſiſtance of that prince with a ſtrong body of Holſatians and Stormarians. The count accordingly joined him with upwards of two thouſand men; and marching into the country of the Kiſſini and Circipani, exerciſed all thoſe ſeverities which are uſually inflicted on impotent rebels. The Holſatians diſplayed their zeal for Chriſtianity by demoliſhing the Pagan temple of the Circipani, which, together with their famous idol, and all the inſtruments of ſuperſtition, was burnt to the ground. It is not mentioned how far Niclotus was acceſſary to this outrage;

rage; but probably he was obliged to connive at the intemperate zeal and enthuſiaſtic barbarity of his new auxiliaries. The rebels finding themſelves unable to withſtand ſo ſuperior a force, thought proper to ſubmit, and to pay the arrears of the tribute, with an additional mulct. Pleaſed with this ſucceſs, Niclotus expreſſed his great obligations to count Adolphus, from whom he had received ſuch effectual aſſiſtance: his ſentiments of gratitude went ſo far, as to accompany that prince to the borders of Holſatia, and to propoſe a renewal of their ancient alliance. The count willingly accepted the offer, in conſequence of which the two princes had ſeveral interviews at Lubeck to adjuſt all differences between the two nations: a treaty was accordingly concluded, and great rejoicings enſued throughout the country, particularly at Lubeck, which felt the more immediate effects of this harmony by a conſiderable extenſion of its commerce.

1154. THIS year died Wicelinus biſhop of Aldenburg, a perſon of real piety and religion: he was interred with great honour in the church of Faldera. His ſucceſſor in the epiſcopal ſee was Geroldus, a native of Suabia, and chaplain to the duke of Saxony. This prince reſtored the biſhopric of Ratzeburg the ſame year, nominating Evermodus to that ſee, on whom Henry count of Ratzeburg ſettled an iſland near the town for his reſidence, with three hundred manſi *, and the tythes. This example was followed by count Adolphus, who ſettled the ſame revenue on the biſhop of Aldenburg.

1154. Affairs of the Empire continued. THE emperor Frederick Barbaroſſa being now inclined to compoſe the differences between the margrave of Auſtria and Henry the Lion, ſummoned a diet at Goſlar, where the affair of the duke's pretenſion to Bavaria was to be decided. The margrave, who held poſſeſſion of that duchy, refuſing to appear, the ſtates condemned him in default, and adjudged it to Henry. This diſpute being ſettled, Frederick undertook an expedition

* The word Manſus occurs very frequently in the writers of the middle ages; it denotes a particular portion of land belonging to a farm, where there are bondmen or villains. This appears from the Capitulary of 853, apud Sylvacum tit. 14. againſt thoſe who drove the bondmen from their manſus.

to

to Italy, in order to chaſtiſe the rebellious Milaneſe, and to receive the Imperial diadem from the pope. In this expedition he was attended by Henry the Lion, who now conceived as great an affection for Frederick, as before he had felt averſion to the emperor Conrad. Frederick directed his march through Tyrol; and after holding an aſſembly of the ſtates of Italy in the plain of Roncale, was crowned king of Italy at Pavia. From thence he proceeded to Rome, where he was crowned emperor by pope Adrian IV. a native of England. The Romans having attempted 1155.
to diſpute the emperor's public entry into Rome, he forced his paſſage over the Tyber, diſperſed the multitude, and quelled the inſurrection. On this occaſion he was greatly indebted to Henry the Lion; for in the heat of the action advancing too far, he was diſmounted, and fell under the horſe's feet, when that prince bravely reſcued him. Henry having received a wound in his face, Frederick wiped off the blood, and promiſed never to forget the obligation. But the policy and ambition of princes are apt to exclude all ſentiments of gratitude, as appeared ſome years after by the ungenerous behaviour of that very emperor to his magnanimous defender. 1156.

THE emperor being now returned to Germany, thought himſelf obliged to ſee Bavaria reſtored to Henry the Lion. Many objections were made by the poſſeſſor Henry margrave of Auſtria: a diet was therefore held at Ratiſbon, where the affair at length was finally ſettled. The margrave relinquiſhed Bavaria, and delivered up to the emperor the ſeven ſtandards, alluding to the number of provinces dependent on that duchy. Frederick inveſted Henry with thoſe ſtandards; and the latter relinquiſhed his ſuperiority over the margraviate of Auſtria, which had hitherto been dependent on Bavaria. To make the margrave amends, Auſtria was erected into a duchy, and endowed with extraordinary privileges. Thus Henry was become one of the moſt powerful princes of his time, his dominions extending, like thoſe of his father before the publication of the ban, from the Baltic ſea to the Mediterranean *.

* Helmold. Pfeffel, Heiſſe, Barre.

HENRY

1156. HENRY being returned to his Saxon dominions, Geroldus biſhop of Aldenburg went to meet him at Bremen, and attended him afterwards to Brunſwick. The prelate's view was to obtain farther encouragement and protection for promoting the Chriſtian religion among the Venedi. The duke gave him a very kind reception, and diſmiſſed him with a ſtrong recommendation to Niclotus. The good biſhop having ſpent his Chriſtmas at Brunſwick, ſet out for Aldenburg, in company with Helmoldus of Boſow, the famous hiſtorian, in order to celebrate the feaſt of Epiphany, commonly called Twelfth-Day. The adventures of theſe two miſſionaries are ſo curious, that we ſhall relate them in the very words of that hiſtorian.

Helmoldus's Journal of his travels among the Venedi.

" UPON our arrival at Aldenburg, we found the town almoſt " deſerted: the weather was intenſely cold, and there was no " church for the celebrating of divine ſervice, ſo that we were " obliged to officiate in the open air, almoſt covered with ſnow. " There were no Venedi preſent except Pribiſlaus *, and a few " of his attendants. Service being over, Pribiſlaus invited us " to his houſe, ſituated in a neighbouring village. There we " experienced the great hoſpitality of the Venedi, who are ſo " extremely chearful and happy in treating their gueſts, that " there is no occaſion in that country for inns or public houſes. " They entertain ſtrangers with bread, fiſh, and game in abund- " ance, and they ſet a value upon every man in proportion as he " behaves with liberality to his gueſts. It is true this vanity " and oſtentation induces numbers of them to rob and ſteal, " vices which are overlooked on account of the virtuous mo- " tive by which they are actuated †; for, according to the " laws of the Venedi, whatever they purloin in the night they " are obliged to ſpend in acts of hoſpitality. And if a na- " tive of that country ſhould preſume to turn a ſtranger out of

* This was not Pribiſlaus, ſon of Buthue and brother of Niclotus; for a little before Helmoldus mentions Rochel, a ſon of Cruco, to have been lord of Aldenburg. This Pribiſlaus muſt therefore be of another family; probably a ſon of Rochel.

† This account of the manners of the Venedi comes from the Saxons, and is therefore to be read with proper caution; however, the main of the character is in their favour.

" doors,

" doors, which rarely happens, it is lawful to ſet his houſe and
" goods on fire. In ſhort, all agree in condemning that man
" to infamy, who refuſes to entertain a traveller.

" Two nights and a day we ſtayed with Pribiſlaus; and after
" receiving every mark of benevolence and hoſpitality, we pro-
" ceeded on our journey, intending to travel farther up the
" country. We had received an invitation from a nobleman in
" thoſe parts, whoſe name was Theſſemar. On our way, we
" arrived at a grove planted with beautiful oaks, ſacred to the
" deity of the place, known by the name of Prowen. The
" grove was paled all round, and acceſſible only in two places.
" Hither the ſuperſtitious and ignorant flocked from all quar-
" ters, to aſſiſt at the ſacrifices, performed by a prieſt who was
" maintained for that purpoſe at the public expence: on Mon-
" days eſpecially they had a numerous aſſembly, to determine
" cauſes. The entrance of the Penetrale, or inner part of the
" grove, was permitted to none but the prieſts, and thoſe who
" wanted to offer up ſacrifice, or who fled to that ſanctuary for
" refuge. Such is the veneration they have for their temples,
" that they ſuffer not even the avenues to be polluted with
" blood. All oaths are reckoned unlawful among theſe people,
" who think that ſuch as ſwear will forſwear themſelves, and
" that the gods inflict the ſevereſt chaſtiſements on thoſe who
" are guilty of perjury. The Venedi have various ſorts of ido-
" latrous worſhip: Some have graven images in their temples,
" ſuch as the idol of Ploen, known by the name of Podaga;
" others have no images, but adore the tutelar deity of the
" woods and groves, ſuch as Prone, worſhipped at Aldenburg;
" others again have idols with two or three heads. Among the
" variety of deities which, according to their erroneous notions,
" preſide over the earth, the ſeas, the woods, foreſts, and even
" over the paſſions, as ſadneſs, joy, pleaſure, they acknowledge
" one ſupreme lord of all, who attends only to celeſtial affairs,
" and leaves the care of mortals to the inferior gods. They
" likewiſe believe that the latter are deſcended from the former,
" as from their firſt progenitor; and that they carefully diſcharge

" the ſeveral offices which he aſſigns them; and in ſhort, that " the excellency or merit of each is in proportion to his proxi- " mity of deſcent to that ſupreme fountain of exiſtence.

" AFTER we had carefully ſurveyed this ſeat of idolatry, the " biſhop exhorted us to ſet fire to the grove, which we accor- " dingly performed, though not without ſome apprehenſion of " being diſcovered; but we had the good fortune to eſcape un- " obſerved. From thence we travelled on with the greateſt " expedition, till we arrived at the village where Theſſemar re- " ſided. This nobleman came out to meet us with extraordi- " nary civility, and introduced us to his own houſe, where we " were entertained in a ſumptuous manner. But our ſatisfaction " was greatly allayed by the ſight of a number of Chriſtian pri- " ſoners *, natives of Denmark: among theſe were ſeveral " prieſts, who were worn away to ſkeletons by the hardſhips " they had ſuſtained during their long captivity; yet our good " biſhop, neither by entreaty nor menaces, could obtain their " diſcharge.

" THE Sunday following, there was a numerous aſſembly at " Lubeck, and our biſhop Geroldus preached a long ſermon to " the people, exhorting them to renounce their falſe deities, to " worſhip the one and only true God, and to refrain from all " evil practices, ſuch as piracy and the murdering of Chriſtians. " After he had harangued a long time upon the ſubject, a pro- " found ſilence enſued, when Pribiſlaus, the ſame who enter- " tained him in the neighbourhood of Aldenburg, made the " following reply:

" YOUR diſcourſe, O venerable prelate, is calculated for the " good of our ſouls, and muſt ſurely proceed from heavenly " inſpiration. You exhort us to deſert our idolatrous rites, and " embrace the Chriſtian religion: But how is it poſſible for us " to comply with your advice, or to practiſe your religion, un- " der our preſent diſtreſſes? To convince you of the difficulties

* This ſhews that Theſſemar was a Pagan, and is a farther mark of the politeneſs of thoſe people, who could behave ſo well to Chriſtian prieſts, the avowed enemies of their religion.

that

" that ſurround us, and which prevent our embracing Chriſti-
" anity, I muſt lay before you the real ſtate of the country.
" Theſe poor people are your flock; and therefore it is proper
" you ſhould be made acquainted with their neceſſities; from
" your tenderneſs of heart I make no doubt but you will en-
" deavour to relieve them. Our princes * oppreſs us to ſuch a
" degree, by every kind of violence and extortion, that death is
" far more preferable to us than life. This very year the inha-
" bitants of this little ſpot of ground have paid a thouſand
" marks to duke Henry, and as many hundred to count Adol-
" phus; they have fleeced us quite naked, and yet we know
" not where this cruelty will terminate, or when they will ſet
" bounds to their avarice. How then ſhall we be able to con-
" form to this new worſhip, and build ſumptuous churches for
" the exerciſe of religious ceremonies, while we are in continual
" danger of being obliged to quit our habitations? But alas!
" what ſanctuary remains, and to what place can we fly? If we
" croſs the Trave, the like calamity awaits us there; if we
" withdraw to the Peine, there alſo are enemies to oppreſs us.
" What choice have we therefore left, but to forſake the land,
" and commit ourſelves to the mercy of the waves, in order to
" try our fortune on the boiſterous ocean †. But where is the
" great crime, if, deprived of a livelihood at home, we draw a
" precarious ſubſiſtence abroad from the Danes and other mer-
" cantile nations? If it be a crime, is it not owing to thoſe
" princes, who lay us under the hard neceſſity of committing
" it?"

" To this ſpeech the biſhop made anſwer, that it was not at all
" ſurprizing thoſe princes ſhould oppreſs the Venedi, ſince they
" apprehended it to be no crime to harraſs a nation for refuſing
" to worſhip the True Deity. He adviſed them therefore to have
" recourſe to Chriſt, and to bow down their rebellious necks to
" the Lord and Creator of the univerſe. He ſet before them the
" example of the Saxons, and other Chriſtian nations, who lead

* Henry the Lion and count Adolphus, who had made the conqueſt of Wagria.

† By this he means their cruizing againſt the Danes.

" ſuch happy lives under their own laws: he concluded, that
" the Venedi alone are oppreſſed, becauſe they alone ſo obſti-
" nately refuſe to embrace our holy religion. To which Pribi-
" ſlaus replied, that if the duke would agree to put the Venedi
" upon the ſame footing with the ſubjects of count Adolphus,
" he ought to favour them with Saxon laws, which would be
" the means of ſecuring the property of their lands, and pro-
" tecting them from plunder and rapine; that upon thoſe con-
" ditions they were ready to become Chriſtians, to build churches,
" and to pay tythes to the clergy.

1156. " THIS ſpeech had a great effect upon biſhop Geroldus, who
" ſoon after ſet out upon his return to Ertheneburg, in order to
" aſſiſt at an aſſembly of the ſtates of Saxony. Niclotus, with
" ſeveral other Venedic princes, attended on the ſame occaſion.
" The biſhop adviſed duke Henry to ſpeak to thoſe princes, and
" uſe what arguments he could to draw them over to Chriſti-
" anity. The duke, in compliance with his requeſt, made a
" ſpeech to that purpoſe, which had little effect; for Niclotus
" king of the Obotrites made anſwer, " May the Supreme Be-
" ing who preſides in Heaven be your God; be you our God,
" and that for us is ſufficient: worſhip him, and we will pay
" our adorations to you." The duke reproved him for his blaſ-
" phemy; but there was not a word mentioned at that time
" concerning the affairs of the church of Aldenburg, or the
" recovery of its revenue. The duke, being lately returned from
" Italy, was willing to repleniſh his coffers, which had been
" quite exhauſted by that expedition."

FROM this narrative of Helmoldus many obſervations may be drawn relating to the cuſtoms and manners of the Venedi: their hoſpitality, above all, even to the enemies of their nation and religion, appears moſt conſpicuous. We farther obſerve the low ſituation to which thoſe people * muſt have been reduced by the barbarity of their oppreſſors. The humble and pathetic ſpeech

* The Venedi here underſtood are thoſe who remained in Wagria after that province had been wreſted from Pribiſlaus. They were made ſubject to count Adolphus, and obliged alſo to pay tribute to duke Henry.

of

of Pribiſlaus diſplays a ſcene of the deepeſt diſtreſs, a picture of the utmoſt calamity and deſpair. On the other hand, we behold the amazing power to which Henry the Lion was arrived, and the terror impreſſed on the minds of the Venedi. But we cannot help being concerned at the abuſe of that power, in trampling upon the necks of an unfortunate nation. Oppreſſion is the parent of deſpair: the Venedi complained, but met with no relief; it was then a natural conſequence they ſhould expect a remedy from the ſword, and endeavour to throw off the yoke of ſubjection. This will ever be the caſe of a conquered nation: lenity and moderation will reconcile them to the victor's laws; but ſeverity will only exaſperate their minds, and prompt them to run every riſk in expectation of breaking their chains, and recovering their darling liberties.

State of Chriſtianity in Wagria.

AFFAIRS ſeemed to be now in a favourable way with regard to the reſtoring of Chriſtianity among the Venedi. The good biſhop Geroldus attended Henry the Lion from Ertheneburg to Brunſwick, and remained there a whole twelvemonth, ſoliciting the reſtitution of the epiſcopal revenue of Aldenburg. At length he grew tired of the court, and withdrew to his dioceſe, with ſtrong promiſes and recommendations from duke Henry. Count Adolphus received him with open arms, and contributed largely towards repairing the loſs of his revenue. The biſhop was not only aſſiduous in the care of his flock, but likewiſe promoted the temporal proſperity of the country by founding the city of Eutin *. At the ſame time Aldenburg, a Saxon colony, was rebuilt, together with the church; and the exerciſe of the Chriſtian religion was reſtored, ninety years after its ſuppreſſion upon the death of the good king Godeſcalcus. The church was conſecrated with great pomp; and count Adolphus, with his wife Matilda, aſſiſted at the ceremony. A clergyman named Bruno preached to the common people in the Venedic tongue, ſtrictly enjoining them not to ſwear by their trees, fountains, or ſtones; but if any perſon lay under ſuſpicion of guilt, to bring him before the prieſt, and make him undergo the fiery

* Still the reſidence of the biſhops of Lubeck.

ordeal.

ordeal *. Count Adolphus likewiſe ſuppreſſed the puniſhment of crucifixion, and ordered a church to be built in the town of Suſle, where the inhabitants had made ſo gallant a defence againſt the Venedi. Several colonies of Saxons were eſtabliſhed at this time in that part of the country, and the town of Ploen was entirely rebuilt, the Venedi retiring to make room for thoſe adventurers. Churches were alſo erected in the country of the Polabi, by the great care of the biſhop Evermodus and Henry count of Ratzeburg.

Civil war in Denmark. 1156.

WHILE theſe things were tranſacting in favour of Chriſtianity in Wagria, the civil war which had been lately ſuſpended in Denmark, broke out anew with greater fury, and ſpread its flames to the country of Vandalia. Upon the death of Eric the Lamb, three princes of the blood royal had laid claim to the Daniſh crown: the firſt was Canute, the ſon of Magnus, and grandſon of king Nicholas; the ſecond, Sweyn, a natural ſon of Eric II. ſurnamed Emund; the third, Waldemar, ſon of Canute, duke of Sleſwick, and king of the Venedi and Obotrites, who had been barbarouſly murdered by Magnus. Waldemar being at that time very young, the other two competitors found means to exclude him, and were both elected to the regal dignity by their different parties. This produced a civil war, the conſequence of which proved unſucceſsful to Canute: Sweyn defeated this prince in a pitched battle in Zealand (1149) and obliged him to retire to Jutland. This victory, however, was attended with no other conſequences at that time, pope Eugenius III. having prevailed upon them, as we have already obſerved, to ſuſpend their quarrel, in order to concur with the confederates in the croiſade againſt the Venedi. The Danes were moſt ſhamefully foiled in that war; and Sweyn being now returned after his defeat, Denmark was once more torn in pieces

* This was a method of trial uſed by the Saxons, and other northern nations, in the times of ſuperſtition. A red-hot iron being conſecrated with religious ceremonies, the perſon accuſed was obliged to carry it a certain diſtance; then his hand was wrapped up, and the covering ſealed for three days. If, upon the expiration of that term, he appeared to be no way hurt, he was acquitted; if otherwiſe, he was declared guilty.

by

by civil diſſentions. Canute made himſelf maſter of Roſchild; but Sweyn obtained a ſecond victory over him, near the village of Thoſtrup in Zealand. Waldemar was now arrived to the ſtate of manhood, when, from a reſentment againſt the murderer of his father, he oppoſed Canute, and offered his ſervices to Sweyn, who made him governor of Sleſwick. Aided by this new ally, Sweyn marched an army into Jutland, where he defeated Canute a third time in the neighbourhood of Wyburg. This prince was then obliged to retire to Sweden, from whence he went over to Hamburg, in hopes of receiving ſuccours from the archbiſhop of that city, a declared enemy of the Danes. In the mean time, a ſtrong party declared for him in Jutland; and Canute being invited to put himſelf at their head, the kingdom was again unhappily ſhaken by civil convulſions. Sweyn having marched an army into Jutland, Canute attacked him in his camp, but was repulſed by the extraordinary bravery of prince Waldemar, and his whole army defeated. Thus unſucceſsful in all his battles, he was driven a ſecond time out of Jutland, and fled for ſhelter to the emperor Frederick Barbaroſſa. This prince offered his mediation to the two rivals, and invited Sweyn to appear at the diet of Merſeburg, in order to decide the diſpute with his competitor. Sweyn apprehending that if he refuſed to comply, the emperor would eſpouſe Canute's intereſt, repaired to Merſeburg, in company with prince Waldemar and many of the Daniſh nobility. The cauſe was determined in favour of Sweyn, to whom the crown was adjudged, but on condition of his granting Zealand to Canute as a dependent fief. On this occaſion the Daniſh monarchy ſuffered a conſiderable diſgrace, Sweyn being obliged to do homage to the emperor. Upon his return to Denmark, however, he diſavowed this act, as extorted by force, and refuſed to deliver up Zealand to Canute; but was prevailed upon by Waldemar to grant him an equivalent in different parts of the kingdom. 1153.

PEACE ſeemed to be now reſtored for ſome time; but the reconciliation of rivals in power is ſeldom ſincere. Sweyn had rendered himſelf very unpopular by his ſeverities againſt the in- 1054.

habitants

habitants of Schonen, who had raiſed an inſurrection, in order to obtain a ſuppreſſion of ſome taxes. Waldemar began to be diſguſted at this prince's conduct, and availed himſelf of the opportunity to form pretenſions himſelf to the crown. With this view he entered into a connection with Canute, by marrying that prince's ſiſter, who ceded to him, as her portion, one third of all his poſſeſſions in Denmark. This alliance gave great umbrage to Sweyn; and finding it impoſſible to diſunite the two princes, he formed a deſign againſt their lives: but this perfidious ſcheme was prevented for ſome time from being carried into execution. Waldemar and Canute were both upon their guard, and ſteady to each other's intereſt. The Venedi having begun, about this time, to renew their hoſtilities at ſea againſt the Danes, a general murmur aroſe throughout the kingdom, which terminated in riots and popular inſurrections. Sweyn conſidering Waldemar as the author of thoſe diſturbances, attempted in vain to ſeize his perſon. Waldemar having joined Canute in Jutland, they both aſſumed the regal title, and fitted out a fleet, with which they made a deſcent upon Zealand. Sweyn not daring to rely on his troops, ſome of whom had already deſerted him, quitted Zealand with the utmoſt precipitation, and fled for ſhelter to Saxony, where he was kindly entertained by his father-in-law, Conrad margrave of Within.

Sweyn recovers his crown by the aid of Niclotus.

THREE years were now elapſed ſince this prince's abdication, when Henry the Lion, either tempted by his large promiſes, or ambitious perhaps of glory, eſpouſed the cauſe of the unfortunate monarch, and undertook to replace him on the throne. With this view he aſſembled a conſiderable body of forces; and having been joined by Hartwic archbiſhop of Bremen *, he marched through Holſtein, from whence he penetrated as far as Sleſwick, which was obliged to capitulate. But upon the approach of Waldemar, with a much ſuperior army, finding that

* In thoſe days there was ſcarce a war or civil diſturbance in which the biſhops had not a principal hand; their power was ſo great, that they levied troops, and led them in perſon to the field.

no party appeared in favour of Sweyn, as this prince had vainly expected, the duke thought proper to retire. The unfortunate monarch, not in the leaſt diſpirited at this diſappointment on land, reſolved to make an attempt by ſea, and begged that Henry would prevail with the Venedi, a maritime nation, to eſpouſe his intereſt. The duke accordingly gave him the ſtrongeſt recommendations to Niclotus, to whom he repreſented the injuries and diſtreſſes of the exiled prince, and deſired he would fit out a ſmall ſquadron, in order to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his dominions. Sweyn, confiding in ſo powerful a recommendation, ſet out for Wagria, where he paid a viſit to count Adolphus. From thence he proceeded to the country of the Obotrites, and waited on Niclotus, who, in conformity to the Venedic manners, gave him a moſt hoſpitable reception. The arguments and intreaties of the abdicated monarch made ſuch an impreſſion on the generous mind of his royal hoſt, that he equipped a ſquadron of ſhips, and gave orders to the commanding officer to land the king in Denmark. The expedition ſucceeded; the Venedi made a deſcent in Fuhnen, where they obliged the inhabitants to renew their allegiance to their ancient ſovereign. Sweyn's friends ſoon after declaring in his favour, he found himſelf at the head of a conſiderable army, and Denmark was at the eve of being once more rendered the theatre of civil war, when Waldemar, touched with the miſeries of his country, offered his mediation to the rival princes. It was accepted; and, after ſome deliberation, they agreed, that the kingdom ſhould be divided into three parts; that Sweyn ſhould have Schonen, Canute the iſlands of Zealand and Fuhnen, and Waldemar Jutland, each with the title of king. This revolution reflects ſingular honour on the memory of Niclotus: After Henry the Lion had in vain attempted, even in the very zenith of his power, to reſtore the abdicated prince to his throne, Niclotus was ſo generous as to eſpouſe the abandoned cauſe, and ſucceeded in the attempt; and this at a time when his own country was ſtill bleeding with the wounds it had received from that very prince, and from the other leaders of the ſacred confederacy.

BUT if we conſider this tranſaction in a political light, Niclotus ſeems not only to have acted a moſt generous part, but likewiſe to have conducted himſelf with extraordinary prudence. He was ſenſible of the prejudices which ſtill prevailed in the minds of Chriſtian princes with regard to the Pagans of the North; and he had experienced the effects of their intemperate zeal, which lately diſcharged itſelf with ſuch impotent rage againſt the whole nation of the Venedi. It was therefore very natural he ſhould endeavour to prevent any future confederacy of that kind, and to eſtabliſh ſuch an alliance as might be a counterpoiſe to their enthuſiaſtic barbarity. For the attainment of this end, no wiſer ſtep could he have taken than to eſpouſe the cauſe of Sweyn, and exert his whole ſtrength in order to reſtore that prince to the throne. A ſervice of ſuch importance muſt naturally be attended with the warmeſt returns of gratitude; the Daniſh monarch muſt, upon any danger or emergency, ſtand up in his defence; and ſupported by ſuch an ally, he muſt ſurely be able to maintain his ground againſt the future combinations of his enemies. Such might have been his reaſonings; but human policy, even in the wiſeſt and beſt-concerted ſchemes, is often diſappointed. Sweyn ſucceeded by the aid of Niclotus; and yet the Danes grew rather more implacable in their hatred and animoſity againſt the Venedi. But Sweyn's ſucceſs was not durable; his ambition at length proved his ruin, and blaſted all the ſanguine expectations of Niclotus. Scarce had the new treaty been ſigned, when Sweyn, who had only yielded to the times, and entertained an inſuperable averſion to the partition of his dominions, reſolved to recover by the fouleſt treachery what he had not been able to obtain by his valour. The rejoicings which followed the peace ſoon furniſhed him with an opportunity of executing his dark purpoſe. He invited the two kings to a public feaſt at Roſchild, where they were received at firſt with all the appearance of friendſhip: but in the midſt of the entertainment, Canute, from ſome circumſtance, ſuſpecting a treacherous deſign, roſe up from table, and taking his leave of Waldemar, attempted to quit the hall, when he

he was ſtopped by a band of ruffians, who had been ſtationed there by Sweyn to maſſacre the two princes. Canute was unfortunately ſlain; but Waldemar having received only a ſlight wound in his thigh, put out the lights which directed the performance of that horrid tragedy, and made his eſcape in the confuſion that enſued, from the hands of the barbarous aſſaſſins. From thence, with great difficulty, he got over to Jutland, where he aſſembled the ſtates of the province; and it was unanimouſly reſolved to ſet an army on foot, in order to bring the perfidious monarch to condign puniſhment. Sweyn, in the mean time, intending to ſurprize his rival, embarked a ſtrong body of troops on board his fleet, and landed them ſafe in Jutland. After ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, the two armies came to a deciſive engagement on a plain called Grathe *, in the neighbourhood of Wyburg. Fortune favoured the cauſe of juſtice, and Waldemar triumphed over his rival. Sweyn endeavouring to ſave himſelf by flight, plunged into a moraſs, and the weight of his armour preſſing him down, he continued in that miſerable ſituation till a trooper belonging to Waldemar's army, to whom he was known, rode up, and with a blow of his ſabre ſtruck off his head. The death of this tyrant extinguiſhed the civil war that for almoſt ten years had ravaged the kingdom. And ſo odious was his name to the whole nation, that none of the Daniſh monarchs would ever after give it to their children.

War between the Danes and the Venedi.

WALDEMAR being now become ſole maſter of Denmark, opened his reign with ſeveral acts of clemency to his enemies, and particularly to Magnus, a natural ſon of Eric the Lamb, and one of the late king's moſt ſtrenuous adherents. On this occaſion he muſt be allowed to have acted like a wiſe prince, uſing his ſucceſs with moderation, and expreſſing a deſire that all animoſities and feuds ſhould be buried in oblivion; he condemned no man for acting according to principle, provided he behaved like a generous enemy. Theſe are leſſons which adverſity alone, a ſchool in which he had been long trained, is able to imprint on the minds of princes. Tranquillity being

* From this place the unhappy Sweyn obtained the ſurname of Grathe.

thus eſtabliſhed at home, his next attention was to reduce the naval power of the Venedi, who, from the firſt riſe of the civil war, are ſaid by the Daniſh writers to have taken every opportunity of interrupting the trade, and infeſting the coaſt of Denmark. In truth, the Venedi and the Danes were, as we have more than once obſerved, hereditary enemies, and as ſuch were ready to embrace every opportunity of profiting by each other's diſtreſſes. The Daniſh monarch, from a deſire of bringing over the clergy to his intereſt, publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring that his motive of going to war with the Venedi was not only to maintain the honour of his crown, but to convert thoſe blind idolaters to the Chriſtian religion. Niclotus finding no poſſibility to avert the impending ſtorm, ſummoned an aſſembly of the chiefs of the Venedi, where it was reſolved to prevent the enemy, and to fit out a ſquadron before the Danes ſhould be in a condition to put to ſea. Accordingly a fleet was equipped; and the Venedi having made a deſcent upon the ſmaller Daniſh iſlands, ſpread themſelves afterwards on the coaſt of Jutland, and ravaged the iſland of Falſter. At length a fleet of light ſhips was fitted out under the command of the king in perſon, or, as ſome pretend, of Abſalon, his old friend and ſchool-fellow. This man, ſo renowned in hiſtory, was of noble extraction, had long diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the army, had ſteadily adhered to Waldemar, and, upon the death of biſhop Aſcher in 1158, by an amazing turn of fortune was elected to the ſee of Roſchild. Though inveſted with that ſacred dignity, he continued to fight for his ſovereign, and ſhewed himſelf zealous for his ſervice, either in the field or the cabinet. Waldemar, however, made but a feeble progreſs againſt the Venedi: he put to ſea, and came up with their fleet in the harbour of Lunden; but finding himſelf much inferior * in ſtrength, he deferred engaging till he received a reinforcement

* The Venedic fleet is ſaid to have conſiſted of two hundred and ſixty ſtout ſhips. So great a naval force muſt have been fitted out by all the tribes of the Venedi in conjunction with Niclotus, and eſpecially by the Rugians, who were very powerful at ſea. Saxo calls Niclotus at this very time, Potentiſſimus Sclavorum princeps.

of ſhips, which was daily expected. During this interval, a violent tempeſt aroſe, and this whole fleet was ſhattered and diſperſed. Yet he was not diſpirited, but equipped a ſecond ſquadron, with which he proved again unſucceſsful, and narrowly eſcaped the fury of the waves. At length, having put to ſea a third time, he came to an engagement with the enemy, and entirely defeated them off the iſle of Rugen. In conſequence of this ſucceſs, the Daniſh troops made a deſcent on the North ſide of the iſland, and obtained a complete victory over the Rugians in the neighbourhood of Arcona. This victory was greatly owing to a ſon of Niclotus, named Priſclavus, who, by a ſtrange fatality, had been engaged in the ſervice of the enemies of his country. The particulars of his behaviour on the occaſion, as mentioned by Saxo, are theſe. As the Danes were in full march towards Arcona, the Rugians, apprized of their landing, muſtered all their forces, and marched to give them battle. Priſclavus * being in the van, was the firſt who perceived the enemy's approach, and rode full ſpeed to give intelligence thereof to the Daniſh army. He told them, that now the opportunity which they had ſo long wiſhed for was happily arrived; that they had it in their power to fight if they pleaſed, for the enemy was at hand; he therefore exhorted them to diſplay their bravery, and to maintain the honour of the Daniſh nation. Animated by this ſpeech, as well as by the example of Priſclavus, the Danes made a furious attack, and gave an entire overthrow to their enemies. The prince to whom the glory of this ſucceſs is attributed, is ſaid to have been the eldeſt ſon † of Niclotus, and to have incurred his father's diſpleaſure by embracing the Chriſtian religion. Under theſe circumſtances he retired to Denmark, where he was well received by king Waldemar, who gave him the princeſs Petronilla, his ſiſter, in mar-

* It is very probable that Priſclavus commanded the army, by his ſpirited harangue to the Danes; and Waldemar perhaps was on board the fleet.

† That he was a ſon of Niclotus we make no doubt; but in all probability he was not the eldeſt ſon; otherwiſe, when the Danes and Saxons had ſubdued the Venedi, and depoſed Pribiſlaus, ſurely they would have placed this prince, who was a Chriſtian, and their friend and ally, on his father's throne.

riage,

riage, and made him governor over the ſmall iſles. He is greatly extolled by the Danes for his courage (which it muſt be allowed he did not want), and for his zealous attachment to Chriſtianity. But we wiſh he had been alſo deſerving of commendation for the love of his country. His behaviour afterwards with regard to his father, as we ſhall preſently recount, was unnatural; and, upon the whole, he ſeems to be a prince of a very ſtrange character. The king returning home laden with ſpoils, gave commands for repairing his fleet, in order to renew the war, but was followed by ambaſſadors from the Venedi, who ſued for peace, or, as ſome pretend, for a ceſſation of arms, which Waldemar, uſing moderation in his ſucceſs, eaſily granted *.

Not long after the concluſion of this peace, Niclotus had the misfortune of being embroiled in a very troubleſome diſpute with Henry the Lion, out of which he was extricated at length by the valour and good conduct of his ſons Pribiſlaus and Wertiſlaus. This is a moſt intricate affair: the hiſtorians of that time mention no particulars of the quarrel; and all we can diſcover thro' the deep cloud which invelopes this whole tranſaction, is, that Niclotus was made priſoner by duke Henry, and confined in the city of Lunenburg; but whether he was carried off by force, or detained there upon the occaſion of making a viſit, is impoſſible to determine. The contention between thoſe two princes muſt have been carried to a very great height, ſince Henry could not be prevailed on, either by entreaties or the offer of a conſiderable ranſom, to releaſe Niclotus from his confinement. At length the two young princes, his ſons, finding all other means ineffectual, determined to compel him by force of arms; and having ſuddenly collected a ſtrong body of troops,

* We have given the above account from the Daniſh hiſtorians. Helmoldus takes notice but of one war between Niclotus and Waldemar, that in which the former was ſlain: probably the war here mentioned was confined to the Danes and Rugians. Waldemar's ſucceſſes ſeem alſo to be magnified, ſince we find him ſoon after complaining to duke Henry againſt the depredations of the Venedi, and applying to that prince for his aſſiſtance. Had he obtained ſuch a complete victory as the Danes pretend, the Venedi could ſcarce have raiſed their heads ſo very ſuddenly as to inſult the Daniſh coaſt.

they

they made an irruption into Saxony, where they exerciſed all ſorts of hoſtilities. The duke being unprepared for this abrupt viſit, and his attention directed to his ſecond expedition into Italy, entered into a treaty with the young princes, by means of which their father was diſcharged from his confinement.

1158. Affairs of the empire.

HENRY's ſecond expedition into Italy was occaſioned by the late inſurrections in that country; the city of Milan, and ſeveral other towns in Lombardy, having taken up arms againſt the emperor Frederick Barbaroſſa. In order to chaſtiſe the authors of thoſe diſturbances, Frederick reſolved to repaſs the Alps with a powerful army; and, by extraordinary favours, had prevailed on Henry the Lion to attend him in this expedition. He made him a preſent of the large poſſeſſions of count Uto, ſituated upon the Hartz, together with a conſiderable part of the Hercinian-Foreſt. The city of Lubeck having been almoſt deſtroyed at this time by fire, Henry, after many ſolicitations and entreaties, prevailed on count Adolphus to cede it to him in full property, and the ceſſion was confirmed by the Imperial authority. Senſible of the conveniency of its ſituation for trade, the duke advanced very large ſums to the inhabitants for the rebuilding of the city, which ſoon aroſe, more beautiful than ever, out of its aſhes. For the encouragement of foreigners to frequent this place, he granted great privileges to the inhabitants, particularly thoſe laws ſo well known by the name of Jus Lubicenſe, and which we ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention in the courſe of this hiſtory. About the ſame time, the laſt count of Laúenrode happening to die, Henry incorporated this county, and Hanover on the Leine, with the reſt of his territories, and enlarged the city of Hanover. For the better ſecurity of his dominions during his abſence, he entered into a treaty of friendſhip and alliance with Waldemar king of Denmark, whoſe chief intention was to prevent the commerce of his ſubjects from being interrupted by the Venedi. For notwithſtanding the peace lately concluded, they are ſaid to have renewed their hoſtilities at ſea, and to have made deſcents on ſeveral parts of the Daniſh coaſts.

coaſts. Waldemar being convinced of Henry's influence over this nation, agreed to pay that prince a thouſand marks of ſilver, if he would engage to prevent them from committing any farther depredations *. In conſequence of this treaty, Henry
1159. had an interview with Niclotus and ſome of the other Venedic chiefs, from whom he obtained a promiſe, which they are ſaid to have ſolemnly confirmed by oath, that they would not commit any hoſtilities againſt the Danes or Saxons, till he returned from Italy †. He likewiſe inſiſted, that all their privateers ſhould be tranſported to Lubeck, as a ſecurity for performing their engagement. His caution, however, for this time was fruſtrated; for they delivered up only ſome of their old crazy veſſels, and reſerved thoſe that were ſerviceable, for any future emergency. At the ſame time count Adolphus, intending to accompany the emperor into Italy, renewed the old treaty of peace with Niclotus; and joining his forces with thoſe of Henry, he began his march for Lombardy.

FREDERICK BARBAROSSA divided his army into ſeveral columns; and having paſſed the Alps, reduced the town of Breſcia, which preſumed to oppoſe his paſſage. From thence proceeding to Milan, he laid ſiege to that city, and obliged it to ſurrender at diſcretion: he was ſo incenſed againſt the inhabitants, that he ordered his troops to ſet fire to the town, which would have been put into execution, had it not been for the interceſſion of Uladiſlaus king of Bohemia. After he had compelled the other cities of Lombardy to make their ſubmiſſion, he held a diet or aſſembly in the plains of Roncale, where he directed an enquiry into the rights of regale, and into the fiefs uſurped from the Imperial domain, to which he ordered them to be re-united. He made ſeveral laws for the increaſe and ſupport of the Imperial power, and for the encouragement of learning, which began to revive in the univerſity of Bo-

* This induces us to doubt very much of Waldemar's late ſucceſſes againſt the Venedi, of which the Daniſh hiſtorians are ſo apt to boaſt.

† This is what the Saxon hiſtorians affirm; but the improbability of the ſtory appears plainly from the religion of the Venedi, who were not allowed to ſwear.

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logna. In ſhort, he began to aſſume a greater authority than Charlemagne or Otho, exacting homage of all thoſe who held of the empire, without excepting even the biſhops. This gave umbrage to pope Adrian IV. who threatened to excommunicate him, but was prevented by death in 1159.

1160. Henry the Lion declares war againſt Niclotus.

HENRY the Lion did not remain with the emperor till the end of the war: He was recalled from Italy by the motions of the Venedi, who, during his abſence, are ſaid to have broke the peace with Denmark, of which the duke was guarantee: this is the complaint of the Saxons, as alſo of the Danes; but what provocations the Venedi might have received is no where mentioned. A people devoted to deſtruction are always in the wrong; the conqueror, though rioting in all the exceſſes of oppreſſion and cruelty, pretends to repel the injuries offered to his ſubjects, and to puniſh his perfidious enemies for the violation of treaties. We ſhall ſoon find that religion was called in to Henry's aid, and the converſion of the Venedi again made a pretext for the extirpation of their race, and the uſurpation of their country. Be that as it may, Henry was inflamed with reſentment chiefly againſt Niclotus, whom he conſidered as the author and inſtigator of thoſe depredations. No ſooner, therefore, was he arrived in Saxony, than he ſummoned an aſſembly of the ſtates at Bernword, to conſult about proper meaſures for ſubduing, or more properly extirpating, the Venedi. King Waldemar, intending to act in conjunction with Henry, prepared a mighty fleet, which was long detained by contrary winds; ſo that apprehending the conſequences of this delay, and deſirous of having an interview with the duke, he paid a viſit to that prince at Ertheneburg, where he complained very heavily againſt the outrages of the Venedi, and the pretended violation of their late engagements. Niclotus and the other princes of that nation were ſummoned to appear at this aſſembly; but they declined the interview, either thro' apprehenſion of inſecurity, or from contempt of a foreign juriſdiction. Henry thereupon was perſuaded by Waldemar's arguments (the moſt prevailing of which was a conſiderable ſubſidy) to declare war againſt the Venedi.

1161. The croiſade revived againſt the Venedi.

NICLOTUS had exerted his utmoſt endeavours to prevent the effects of that conſpiracy which ſeemed to menace his ruin; but finding his enemies determined and implacable, he reſolved to defend himſelf with vigor and ſpirit, and commit the reſt to fortune. Having received intelligence that the duke was upon his march *, he propoſed to ſurprize the city of Lubeck, which might be a means of retarding that prince, and ſecuring a frontier town againſt the enemy. He therefore diſpatched his ſons, Pribiſlaus and Wertiſlaus, with a ſtrong body of troops, towards Wagria, ordering them to march with the utmoſt ſecrecy and expedition, and make an attempt upon Lubeck before the duke could come up to relieve it. The princes obeyed, and were very near ſucceeding, when an unforeſeen accident fruſtrated their deſign. A clergyman, named Athelo, had a houſe ſituated near the bridge on the river Wackenitz, to the ſouth of Lubeck, and had lately cauſed a very broad ditch to be dug, in order to convey the water to ſome diſtance. The princes advancing full ſpeed to ſeize the bridge were ſtopped by this ditch, and obliged to go round, by which means they loſt their way: this occaſioned ſome delay, and the ſervants of the houſe perceiving the approach of an enemy, called out to their maſter. Athelo, alarmed at the noiſe, immediately ran to the ſpot whence it came; but when the Venedi had got half way over, and were juſt upon the point of ſeizing the gate, at that very inſtant he drew up the bridge, and ſtopped the enemy in the midſt of their career †.

Operations of duke Henry's army.

In the mean time, duke Henry had marched a formidable ‡ army into the country of the Venedi, committing every cruelty

* That this war was begun by Henry the Lion in 1161 appears from the Diploma Raceburgenſe apud Weſtphal. tom. ii. where we find theſe curious words: Id vero ſtabilitum eſt, anno ab Incarnatione 1162: in ſecundo anno poſtquam perfidam gentem Slavos, propitia divina miſericordia, bellica virtute meæ ſubjeci ditioni.

† This Athelo, for ſo ſignal a piece of ſervice, was made firſt prebend of the cathedral of Lubeck.

‡ He ſeems to have been joined by a body of Danes, under the command of king Waldemar; for Priſclavus, a ſon of Niclotus, of whom more hereafter, was in the Daniſh camp along with Waldemar when his father was ſlain.

that

that reſentment and indignation can inſpire. Niclotus finding his forces inſufficient to engage the enemy in the field, ſet fire to ſeveral of his own towns, as Ilowe, Mecklenburg, Schwerin, and Dubin or Dobin, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Saxons. Nothing can be a ſtronger proof of the cruel diſtreſs to which this prince was reduced at the preſent conjuncture, than the melancholy neceſſity of deſtroying his own fortreſſes. Being afraid to weaken his army by numerous garriſons, he found himſelf diſabled from defending his capital, and the other towns juſt now mentioned; and to let the enemy take poſſeſſion of them, would be ſuch a loſs as he never ſhould be able to retrieve. For the policy of the Saxons, upon making themſelves maſters of any of the towns of Vandalia, was, to expel the old inhabitants, and to people them with new colonies, who, for the ſecurity of their poſſeſſions, would contribute to ſtrengthen the Saxon intereſt, and act moſt vigorouſly in diſtreſſing the Venedi. After this precaution, Niclotus reſolved to make a ſtand at Wurle, a ſtrong town ſituated on the river Warnow, near the diſtrict of the Kiſſini. In this poſt he encamped his troops, where he could not eaſily be forced; and from thence made continual excurſions againſt the Saxons, ſurprizing their parties, and killing a great number of their men. Advice being brought that the duke's army was arrived in the neighbourhood of Mecklenburg, he ſent the princes his ſons with a detachment to obſerve their motions, and beat up the enemy's quarters. The princes meeting with a party of horſe that had been foraging, attacked them with great bravery, killed ſome, and put the reſt to flight. The alarm ſoon reached the Saxon army, when duke Henry ordering a large body of troops to advance, and fall upon this detachment, the Venedi were obliged to yield to the ſuperiority of numbers, and moſt of them were taken priſoners. But what is very extraordinary, the duke did not treat them with the humanity due to captives of war, but ordered them immediately to be hanged. From the ſeverity of this proceeding, ſome imagine that he conſidered thoſe unhappy men in the light of rebels: it ſeems, however, moſt probable, that he uſed no conſideration at all, but gave entire

reins to his paſſion, in the wantonneſs of proſperity. If he thought himſelf entitled to proceed againſt the Venedi as rebels, he was certainly miſtaken; for although by the fortune of war Niclotus had been greatly humbled, yet he never yielded homage to Henry, nor acknowledged him as his paramount; and even had he yielded ſuch homage, this would not have releaſed the Venedi from their obedience to their immediate lord, whom they were obliged to follow into the field. If ſuch was their duty, to hang them for conforming to it muſt have been an act repugnant to juſtice, and devoid of humanity.

Death of Niclotus.

THE ſons of Niclotus were vaſtly dejected at their late defeat, ſeeing themſelves obliged to return without their horſes, after loſing the beſt part of the detachment. Upon their appearing in the preſence of their father in that melancholy plight, the aged prince expreſſed great ſurprize and indignation: "I thought, ſaid he, that my ſons were men, but I find them "more puſillanimous than women; I will therefore make "an excurſion againſt the enemy myſelf, and ſee whether I "ſhall be able to retrieve the honour of the family." Saying this, he took a band of choſen horſemen with him, and rode towards the Saxon camp, in order to view the ſituation of the enemy, and, if poſſible, ſurprize ſome of their parties. He had not been long in expectation, when a number of light troops that had been foraging appeared in ſight, and Niclotus advanced to attack them. Intermixed with theſe were about ſixty men at arms *, who had concealed their coats of mail under an outward garment. Niclotus, not aware of the deception, being mounted on a nimble ſteed, ruſhed in among them, and directed his ſpear againſt one of the party: finding the weapon recoil, he became ſenſible of his miſtake, and would fain have rejoined his troop, but was inſtantly ſurrounded. After a moſt obſtinate defence, fighting bravely to the laſt moment, he was overpowered by the number of his enemies; when diſdaining to turn his back, though deſerted by his own men, he fell with ſword in hand, amidſt heaps of ſlaughtered Saxons.

* Helmoldus calls them Milites; we ſhall give a farther account of them in the next chapter.

His

His head was fixed on a pole, and carried triumphantly to the duke, who ordered it to be interred with the honours due to the valour and rank of the deceaſed *.

SUCH was the fate of the brave Niclotus, a prince whoſe name will be ever revered in the annals of the Venedi. He had the misfortune of living at a time when Europe was ſtill overſpread with barbariſm, which prevented the rude hiſtorians of that age from doing juſtice to his merit. His perſon was manly and robuſt, his countenance engaging, and he excelled moſt men of his time in agility and the exerciſe of arms. This appeared by his behaviour in his laſt ſcene of life, when he was able, at ſo advanced an age, to perform ſuch feats of activity. He had been enured to hardſhips from his youth, was patient and laborious, and could endure cold, hunger, and fatigue, as well as the meaneſt ſoldier in his army. But the accompliſhments of his mind far ſurpaſſed thoſe of his body. In a private ſtation he had behaved without blemiſh, and his ſuperior virtues qualified him for the high dignity to which he had been deſigned by Providence. During the uſurpation of his crown he behaved with great reſignation; neither was he afterwards elated by the ſmiles of proſperous fortune. He was gracious and affable to all people, but eſpecially to his ſoldiers, whom he allured to their duty by complaiſance and kind words, ſtill preſerving undebaſed the dignity of a ſovereign. He was poſſeſſed of acute penetration and ſolidity of judgment, which he diſplayed in his conduct towards Sweyn the Daniſh king, during the civil wars of that monarchy. He was open and ſincere, and ſo punctual to his engagements, that even his enemies depended on the performance of his word. But above all, his courage,

* Saxo Gramm. ſays, that the duke ſent it to king Waldemar, who received it juſt at the time he was at ſupper with Priſclavus, the ſon of the deceaſed; and that this prince, after he had paid the tribute due to nature, and ſhed tears over the head of his parent, ſaid, with more than ſtoical obduracy, "That he thanked "God for thus puniſhing impiety;" but that Waldemar rebuked him for this extravagant zeal, and want of natural feeling. We are not ſurprized that ſuch a monſter ſhould not have been ranked among the ſons of Niclotus by the hiſtorians of Mecklenburg.

his

his intrepidity, his unſhaken conſtancy, muſt excite our admiration. Though twice attacked by a confederacy of moſt powerful princes, headed by a captain who had filled all Germany with the terror of his arms, he was no way daunted: prudence directed him to avoid the danger; but when malice and ambition had rendered that impracticable, he unſheathed the ſword, and bravely faced his enemies. His conduct in the field was not inferior to his valour, as may be demonſtrated by his firſt war with duke Henry and the Danes, when he baffled the attempts of ſo formidable an alliance. His behaviour indeed in the laſt ſcene of life, where he ventured his perſon with ſo ſmall a detachment, ſeemed to border on temerity: but beſides that there are inſtances of great captains who have expoſed themſelves to the like danger, it muſt be remembered that he was affected with the diſgrace of his ſons, and from a moſt glorious principle was willing to hazard his own perſon, in order to inſpire thoſe princes with intrepidity and true courage. He had a moſt tender and ſincere affection for his people; to this he ſacrificed his ſafety, to this his tranquillity and happineſs, having been conſtantly engaged in the moſt perilous adventures for their defence, ever ſince his advancement to the throne. Senſible of the bleſſings of peace, he never waged war without reluctance, though equal to moſt princes in courage and military abilities: But he was obliged to take arms in the defence of his crown and his country, in oppoſition to ſuch a number of implacable foes, who, under the pretext of propagating Chriſtianity, had conſpired to extirpate his whole nation. Thus he ſtood up in the cauſe of liberty, preferring, like the ancient Venedi, the toils of war to the ſweets of peace, and an honourable death to an ignominious ſervitude. Overwhelmed at length by the weight and multitude of his enemies, he ſmiled at his impending fate, and fell a ſacrifice to the united efforts of bigotry and ambition. His ſubjects mourned the loſs of ſo good a prince; and had they been able to prevent the extinction of their religion and monarchy, would probably have erected altars to his memory; an honour of which he ſeemed indeed

deed to be far more deſerving than their celebrated hero Rhadegaſtus *.

NICLO-

* We cannot conclude this account of the gallant Niclotus without taking notice of ſome difficulties that occur with regard to his deſcent. All the hiſtorians of Mecklenburg agree, that this prince was the ſon of Buthue king of the Venedi and Obotrites, and brother of Pribiſlaus I. But the great diſtance of time between the death of Buthue and that of Niclotus, a period of eighty-four years, ſeems to raiſe a ſtrong objection againſt the above-mentioned genealogy. Buthue was put to death by Cruco in 1072; therefore Niclotus, if even a poſthumous ſon, muſt have been eighty-ſeven years of age when he was ſlain by the Saxons. But is it probable, or even poſſible, that a man at eighty-ſeven ſhould have the ſtrength and vigour to perform the feats of valour mentioned in his hiſtory; to dart his ſpear againſt a ſoldier in armour with ſuch violence as to make it immediately recoil? Surely this muſt be a prodigy. Again, Helmoldus, mentioning the taking of the town of Werle in 1163, when Wertiſlaus, a ſon of Niclotus, was obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner, ſays, that Henry appointed Lubemarus, a brother of Niclotus, governor of that town and diſtrict: But if Lubemarus (whom we forgot to mention when ſpeaking of Buthue's iſſue) had been the ſon of Buthue, he muſt have been at that time at leaſt turned of ninety, and of courſe very improper for ſuch a command. And if we ſuppoſe him, as probability requires it, to have been younger, he could not be a ſon of Buthue.

THESE are very ſtrong difficulties, which induce me to be of opinion, that Niclotus muſt have been a grandſon of Buthue, by an elder brother to Pribiſlaus I. whoſe name has been loſt. My reaſons for this opinion, in which I find myſelf ſupported by the ingenious M. Gebhardi, are as follow. From the whole hiſtory of the Venedi it plainly appears, that this nation conſtantly maintained the regular ſucceſſion of the royal family; and if at any time either religion or war diverted this ſucceſſion from the right channel, they fell into it again the firſt opportunity. In Saxo Grammaticus we read, that Priſclavus, a ſon of Niclotus, glories in being ſprung from that blood: Quem nulli Slavorum attentandi auſus unquam inceſſit. This ſplendor of deſcent is applicable only to the royal line, and muſt certainly imply he was of royal blood; therefore both father and ſon muſt have been of the royal family. Since king Henry's line failed, as we have ſeen in the foregoing hiſtory, we muſt have recourſe to Buthue. This prince left a ſon named Pribiſlaus, who, during the uſurpation of Cruco, and the reign, if not the uſurpation of his uncle Henry, was obliged to lead a retired life till the death of Canute duke of Sleſwick and king of the Venedi. This event gave him an opportunity of recovering his right, and of admitting Niclotus to a ſhare of the royal inheritance. Now what could poſſibly have induced him to purſue this meaſure, when he had it in his power to have poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole, but the right of blood, and a right prior to his own? Hence it follows, that they were very near relations; for it is incredible, and abſolutely repugnant, as we have already obſerved, to the eſtabliſhed laws and cuſtoms of the Venedi, that a ſtrange family ſhould have been called in to partake of the ſovereignty of that nation. We muſt

His iſſue.

NICLOTUS is ſaid to have eſpouſed Amelia, daughter of Suercker II. king of Sweden; but this does not appear from any ancient writer, nor from the Swediſh hiſtorians. With regard to his iſſue, Helmoldus, and the generality of the hiſtorians of Mecklenburg, take notice only of two of his ſons, Pribiſlaus and Wertiſlaus; but we find a third, as hath been already obſerved, named Priſclavus, in Saxo Grammaticus, who gives us ſome particulars of his hiſtory. He is ſaid to have been exiled by his father for embracing the Chriſtian religion. This is according to the Daniſh writers, who probably meant to blacken the character of Niclotus, to whom they had an implacable averſion. It is moſt likely that Priſclavus, upon his embracing Chriſtianity, retired to Denmark of his own accord, where he married the princeſs Petronilla, ſiſter of king Waldemar. From that time he became a declared enemy of his country, and attended king Waldemar in all his expeditions. In conſideration of his ſervices, he had the third part of the town of Wolgaſt in Pomerania ſettled upon him in 1164, but loſt it in the following year, after which time he lived a retired life, and breathed his laſt before 1170. He left an only ſon, Canute, lord of Laland, who died without iſſue in 1183, and was buried in St. Canute's church at Odenſee. We ſhall have occaſion hereafter to make farther mention of theſe princes. We come now to treat of the unfortunate reign of the heir and ſucceſſor of Niclotus.

muſt therefore derive Niclotus from Buthue, and from the circumſtance of age he muſt have been a grandſon to that prince, probably by an elder ſon, as we may conjecture from the equitable diſpoſition of Pribiſlaus; for he reſigned the country of the Obotrites, the ancient patrimony of the family, in favour of Niclotus, and reſerved to himſelf the territory of Wagria and the diſtrict of the Polabi, provinces lately acquired by the ſword. The diſtribution would probably have been the very reverſe, had not Niclotus founded his right to thoſe dominions on his being the iſſue of Pribiſlaus's elder brother. Perhaps this opinion, grounded on probable arguments, will be confirmed hereafter by ſome public monument that now lies buried in ruins, and the name of Niclotus's father will be brought to light.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Containing the reign of Pribiſlaus II. from 1161 to the battle of Demmin, and the diſſolution of the kingdom of the Venedi in 1164.

The Venedi in great diſtreſs. Peace concluded. The war between Henry and Pribiſlaus renewed. The ſiege of Werle. Prince Wertiſlaus made priſoner. Peace again concluded. Terrible ſtorm on the coaſt of Germany. The laſt war between Henry and Pribiſlaus. The croiſade againſt the Venedi renewed. The duke orders prince Wertiſlaus to be hanged. Reflections on that ſentence. The duke's operations againſt the Venedi. The battle of Demmin. The Venedi are intirely ſubdued. Cruelties of the Saxons. The country of Vandalia depopulated. Pribiſlaus driven into exile. The kingdom of the Venedi diſſolved.

XXVII. PRIBISLAUS II.

The Twenty-ſeventh and Laſt KING of the VENEDI and OBOTRITES.

EMPEROR of GERMANY,

FREDERICK BARBAROSSA, 1152.

KING of ENGLAND, HENRY II. 1154.

UPON the death of king Niclotus an univerſal horror and gloom overſpread the unhappy country of Vandalia. His ſons were deprived of a parent generous and indulgent, who, exerting an intrepidity ſuperior to his age, cloſed the laſt ſcene of life in endeavouring to animate them by his example to a vigorous defence of their country, religion, and liberty. His ſubjects mourned the loſs of a moſt amiable ſovereign, their father and protector, who had ever preferred their welfare to his

The Venedi in great diſtreſs.

own repoſe, and directed his whole care and attention to prevent them from falling into an ignominious ſervitude. But his enemies of the ſacred league, at the ſame time that they were ſtruck with admiration at his bravery, gave public demonſtrations of joy at his death, as an event the moſt proſperous that could happen to their deſtructive deſigns. They conſidered it as a ſtroke of providence in their favour, that ſo great a prince ſhould periſh at ſuch a juncture, when nothing but the wiſdom of his counſels, the intrepidity of his mind, and even the bravery of his arm, were capable of obſtructing their ſettled ſcheme of finally ſubduing the Venedi. Yet, contrary to their expectation, freſh difficulties were thrown in their way by the vigorous efforts of his two ſons, Pribiſlaus and Wertiſlaus *, who diſplayed in the defence of their country a magnanimity worthy of the illuſtrious hero from whom they were deſcended. Theſe two princes were then in the prime of life, and had always lived with the greateſt harmony and brotherly affection. This was not at all interrupted by the death of their father; no partition or joint regency enſued; Pribiſlaus, by right of primogeniture, ſtepped into the throne; and Wertiſlaus, ſtifling all ſentiments of ambition, readily acquieſced in a meaſure conducive to the welfare and preſervation of his country. This was a ſignal inſtance of moderation, at a time when a powerful enemy was in the heart of Vandalia, and would readily have eſpouſed his cauſe, had he expreſſed the leaſt deſire to be admitted to a partition of territory or a ſhare of the government. But he had too great an affection for his country to contribute to her ruin, by joining with her hereditary enemies. After the cataſtrophe of their father, the two princes finding themſelves unable to ſtem the torrent of the enemy's forces, or to prevent the town of Werle from falling into their poſſeſſion, were reduced to the melancholy neceſſity of ſetting fire to it: then ſecuring their families and chief effects on board their ſhips, which were their laſt refuge, they retired into the woods, with a view

* We take no notice of Priſclavus, the other ſon, becauſe he had entered into the Daniſh ſervice, and was become a declared enemy to his country.

to

to harraſs the Saxons by flying parties. Duke Henry advancing with his army, ſhewed his reſentment in ravaging and deſtroying the country, and exerciſing every ſeverity which rage and indignation are apt to inſpire. His concern was very great upon hearing of the demolition of the town of Schwerin, the ſituation being well adapted to bridle the Venedi, and to reſtrain the rapidity of their incurſions. He therefore ordered it to be rebuilt, and gave it, together with the adjacent territory of Ilinburg, or rather Ilowe, to be held as a fief by his friend Gunzelinus, a nobleman of the family of Bartenſleben. This was the firſt count of Schwerin, of whom and his deſcendants we ſhall have frequent occaſion to make honourable mention. The towns at that time muſt have conſiſted of very ſlight houſes, conſtructed chiefly of wood, ſince we find them ſo frequently deſtroyed, and afterwards rebuilt with ſuch amazing expedition *.

Peace concluded.

To complete the misfortunes of this nation, while Henry the Lion was plundering and depopulating their country, Waldemar king of Denmark undertook to diſtreſs them by ſea. The Venedi †, not at all diſmayed, equipped a ſtrong ſquadron, with which they ventured to attack the Daniſh fleet, but were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. By this victory the Danes retrieved their reputation, as they fought to a diſadvantage, having been ſurrounded in a ſhallow creek, to which they had been driven by ſtreſs of weather. But king Waldemar's preſence and example animated the ſeamen, and chiefly contributed to the ſucceſs of that day ‡. Such a ſeries of diſaſters reduced Pribiſlaus to the neceſſity of ſuing for peace, at a time when he had very little favour or indulgence to expect from the continued ſucceſſes and immenſe ſuperiority of his enemies. And indeed, under thoſe circumſtances, it was ſurprizing they liſtened

* Helmold. Krantz.

† Here the Rugians and other tribes of the Venedi muſt have joined with Pribiſlaus; which I ſuppoſe to have been generally the caſe in naval engagements between this nation and the Danes. ‡ Saxo, Pontan.

to any terms; but whether they were grown jealous of each other, and differed about dividing the ſpoils, or the duke thought it impolitic at that time to proceed to ſuch extremities againſt Pribiſlaus as ſhould render him deſperate, they entered into a negotiation with this diſtreſſed prince, and at length a treaty of peace was concluded. The conditions were very ſevere, ſuch as might be expected from the inſolence of a proud conqueror. Pribiſlaus was obliged to yield to his adverſe fate, and to conſent, when he was incapable of farther reſiſtance, to the diſmembering of his dominions. Henry reſtored to him the town of Werle and the territory belonging to it *; but the country of the Obotrites, the patrimony of the royal houſe, he divided among his officers, as a reward for their ſervices. The town of Cuſchin † he aſſigned to Ludolphus, whom Helmoldus ſtiles an advocate of Brunſwick. Malchow ‡ he granted to Ludolphus of Paina. Even Mecklenburg, the ancient royal reſidence, was not ſuffered to remain in the family; the duke was ſo cruel as to beſtow it on a nobleman called Scaten, who re-peopled it with a colony of Flemings. At the ſame time an eccleſiaſtic named Berno was made biſhop of that city. Henry now ſeemed deſirous of conciliating the friendſhip of the clergy, when the exorbitance of his power had begun to raiſe him a multitude of enemies. For this purpoſe he erected ſome new biſhoprics in the conquered country, and endowed them with handſome revenues. The Venedi who were ſuffered to remain in thoſe parts, lay under ſtrict injunctions to contribute their ſhare of the tythes towards maintaining thoſe prelates. For the farther eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian religion, he introduced large colonies of Germans into thoſe diſtricts that had been depopulated by the ſword, and lay uncultivated for want of hands. Such was the hard fate of Pribiſlaus, to be ſtripped of ſo fine a part of his

* The territory of the Kiſſini and Circipani.

† The town of Cuſchin was in the neighbourhood of Roſtock. ‡ Malchow is ſituated on the lake of Kolpin, in the principality of Wenden.

dominions,

dominions, the inheritance of his anceſtors, and to ſee his ſubjects enſlaved or driven out of their poſſeſſions by a new race of foreign adventurers. But this was only a prelude to the calamities to which this prince and his people were doomed, and of the injuries they were to ſuſtain from the violence of the victors, who were incapable of ſetting bounds to their rapaciouſneſs, but puſhed on the rights of war, which obtained in thoſe barbarous days, to the utmoſt extremes of inhumanity and injuſtice.

THE public tranquillity ſeemed to be now reſtored; and the 1161.
frontier provinces of the Venedi being re-peopled by Germans, the Chriſtian religion began to aſſume a flouriſhing appearance. New towns and churches were built; and the biſhoprick of Aldenburg, at the requeſt of Geroldus, was tranſlated to Lubeck. Yet there aroſe in Holſatia a very warm diſpute concerning the tythes, which the people at firſt refuſed to pay to their biſhop, notwithſtanding the moſt poſitive orders of count Adolphus. The diſpute was at laſt compromiſed, upon the breaking out of another war with the Venedi. The ſeveral towns that had been burnt and deſtroyed in the country of the Obotrites were all rebuilt and peopled by ſtrangers, and the government of that province was committed to Gunzelinus, for whom duke Henry had a particular friendſhip. Henry count of Ratzeburg introduced alſo a colony of Weſtphalians into the country of the Polabi, and the ſettlement was perfected under the adminiſtration of his two ſons, Bernard and Henry.

The war between Henry and Pribiſlaus renewed.

BUT this was only a tranſient calm; the clouds were gathering over the heads of thoſe new adventurers, and portended a terrible ſtorm. Hiſtory ſcarce furniſhes us with an inſtance of a ſincere reconciliation between the conqueror and his vanquiſhed foe, where the former has not been ſo generous or ſo prudent as to behave with moderation in his ſucceſſes. By the unproſperous events of the late war, Pribiſlaus had been ſtripped of all his dominions, except the territory of the Kiſſini and Circipani; and even the principal town of the Kiſſini had been granted, as we have

men-

mentioned above, to Ludolphus of Brunſwick. It was impoſſible then for this prince not to be greatly affected with this melancholy ſcene, when ſuch a number of foreign intruders were ſeen rioting in the ſpoils of his unfortunate country. Though he had been obliged to yield to the neceſſity of the times in concluding the late treaty, he ſoon reſolved to make another effort towards ſhaking off the yoke and recovering his dominions. With this view he began to prepare for war, but with all imaginable ſecrecy and caution, to prevent giving any alarm to duke Henry. Yet ſo narrowly did Gunzelinus of Schwerin obſerve all his motions, that the deſign tranſpired, and he apprized the duke of thoſe military preparations. Henry was greatly incenſed at this intelligence, and having an army at hand, he would not wait till ſpring, but marched his forces in the depth of winter, intending to ſurprize Pribiſlaus, and prevent him from collecting his troops into a body. The two brothers reſided then in the town of Werle, which they had lately fortified. The duke ordered Gunzelinus to march forward with the van, and to inveſt that place with the utmoſt diligence, while he followed himſelf with the main body of the army. But before the Saxons could reach the neighbourhood of Werle, Pribiſlaus, having had notice of their approach, withdrew from thence with a conſiderable body of horſe, committing the defence of the town to his brother Wertiſlaus, while he undertook himſelf to harraſs and alarm the enemy.

The ſiege of Werle.

GREAT was the duke's vexation upon being informed that Pribiſlaus was withdrawn from the town of Werle; for he had flattered himſelf with the expectation of putting a ſpeedy iſſue to the war, by getting that prince and his brother into his poſſeſſion. Yet it was ſome conſolation to him under this diſappointment, that prince Wertiſlaus and ſeveral of the Venedic nobility had ſhut themſelves up in the town; as he knew it muſt inevitably fall into his hands. He therefore, without loſing a moment, inveſted the place; but did not think it neceſſary to proceed with any hurry in the operations of the ſiege. Obſerving

ing that the young officers of his army were too eager in ſkirmiſhing with the enemy's parties, he thought proper to reſtrain their ardor, by ordering them not to approach the gates of the town, but to keep themſelves quiet within their camp, where they would be out of the reach of any hoſtile annoyance. In this reſpect he conducted himſelf as a wiſe general, not to expoſe the lives of his men, when it was in his power to compaſs his end without bloodſhed. All he deſired of his ſoldiers was, to obſerve the enemy with a moſt vigilant eye, ſo as none of their parties ſhould be able to make their eſcape. This precaution being taken, he commenced the operations of the ſiege, and diſplayed his great ſkill in a branch of the military art, at that time but imperfectly underſtood in Germany. He ordered a number of workmen to cut down a great quantity of timber in the neighbouring woods, and gave directions for their conſtructing ſuch military machines as he had ſeen uſed by the emperor Frederick Barbaroſſa at the ſiege of Crema. Two of theſe were extremely large; one a battering ram to beat down the walls; and the other built in the nature of a high tower, from whence the beſiegers might eaſily annoy the inhabitants, and drive them from the ramparts. As ſoon as this machine was erected, it proved ſuch a check to the beſieged, that they no longer durſt ſhew their heads from the walls; and prince Wertiſlaus himſelf was dangerouſly wounded. Thus the ſiege was carried on with great vigor, when news arrived, that Pribiſlaus was advanced within a ſmall diſtance of the camp with a conſiderable body of horſe. The duke then gave orders for count Adolphus to take a detachment of cavalry with him, and to march with all expedition in ſearch of the enemy. The count accordingly obeyed, but met with no ſucceſs, having been deceived by his guides, who put him upon a falſe ſcent, and prevented his coming up with Pribiſlaus. Thoſe men being natives of that country, naturally favoured their own ſovereign, and conducted count Adolphus and his detachment thro' thickets and moraſſes, till they were quite exhauſted with fatigue, and found it difficult at length to return to the army. The ſame day the duke commanded, that no foraging

foraging parties ſhould ſtir out, leſt they ſhould be intercepted by the enemy; yet a body of Holſatians, neglectful of the general's orders, ventured at ſome diſtance from the camp, when the Venedi falling upon them by ſurprize, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight.

INCENSED at theſe diſappointments, the duke preſſed the ſiege with greater vigor than ever, redoubling the efforts of his battering machines, till the walls of the town began to totter. Wertiſlaus finding things reduced to extremity, and deſpairing of all hopes of ſuccour, applied to count Adolphus for a paſſport to the Saxon camp, in order to treat about terms of accommodation. This requeſt being immediately granted, an interview enſued, when Adolphus received Wertiſlaus with ſingular politeneſs. The prince, on the other hand, ſeemed to place a great confidence in the count, ſo as to aſk his opinion and advice in the preſent conjuncture. Adolphus, who had a great reſpect for Wertiſlaus and his whole family, made anſwer, "That it was too late to apply for a phyſician when the diſeaſe "was become deſperate; that the danger now impending ought "to have been foreſeen; that it was extremely indiſcreet of "him to ſhut himſelf up in a walled town, and to expoſe himſelf to the conſequence of a ſiege; that no perſon in his ſenſes "would ſet his foot where there was no poſſibility of extricating it, and where he muſt of courſe be ſure of being "enſnared; that whoever had been his adviſers to ſuch a ſtep "were not his friends; that no other expedient remained in the "preſent criſis but to ſurrender himſelf and the garriſon priſoners to the duke, who would probably admit them to "mercy." Wertiſlaus replied, that to repeat paſt grievances was of no preſent uſe; he had done his duty, and obeyed the orders of his brother and his ſovereign; that unproſperous fortune had thrown him into unfavourable circumſtances, and he was ſenſible that in his preſent diſtreſs it would be neceſſary to ſurrender; all the information he wanted was, whether the duke would grant him a capitulation. The count made anſwer, he

would

would wait on the duke, and know his commands. Accordingly, after ſome conſultation it was agreed, that Wertiſlaus and the whole garriſon ſhould march out of the town, and immediately lay down their arms, but that their lives ſhould be ſafe and their perſons untouched *, provided that Pribiſlaus would alſo agree to abſtain from hoſtilities.

THE capitulation being ſigned, prince Wertiſlaus, attended by the count, marched out of the town, with ſeveral of the Venedic nobility, each holding his ſword over his head ‖; and they all made their ſubmiſſion to the duke, who ordered them to be committed to cloſe cuſtody. He gave directions likewiſe for all the Daniſh captives, of whom there were great numbers in the town, to be ſet at liberty, without paying any ranſom. The fortifications were repaired, and the command of the place was conferred on Lubemarus, a brother of Niclotus †. With regard to Wertiſlaus, he took this prince along with him to Brunſwick, where he was cloſe confined, and kept in chains like the vileſt ſlave. Such ſeverity to a prince who had committed no crime but that of defending his country, diſplays the manners of the age, and the temper of the victor. The nobility who had ſurrendered together with Wertiſlaus, were alſo confined till they could raiſe a conſiderable ſum for the payment of their ranſom. Thus did Henry, in the full riot of his power ‡, exultingly triumph over his vanquiſhed foes, unconſcious of his own impending fate, of fortune's frowns, and the inſtability of

Prince Wertiſlaus made priſoner.

* Membris & vita potirentur. This circumſtance ſhould be remembered; we ſhall preſently ſee how well this capitulation was obſerved.

‖ This was a mark of ſubmiſſion among the Venedi.

† This is the only place in the whole hiſtory of the Venedi where we find any mention made of this prince. Some will have him to be an elder brother of Niclotus; but this proceeds from their miſtaking Helmoldus, whoſe words are, Lubemarum quendam veteranum, fratrem Nicloti, which imply only, that Lubemarus, the brother of Niclotus, was then ſtricken in years. But the conduct of duke Henry, in entruſting a prince of the Venedi at this juncture with the command of ſuch a fortreſs, is ſomewhat ſurprizing; neither is the cauſe of this confidence and intimacy mentioned in hiſtory.

‡ It was about this time that the duke cauſed the brazen ſtatue of a lion to be erected at Brunſwick, in order to make all his enemies ſenſible of his undaunted temper of mind.

earthly grandeur. But he had not yet been trained in the ſchool of adverſity, where the experience of human woes prepares the heart for ſentiments of pity, and where proud warriors are taught thoſe leſſons of moderation, which are unfortunately deſpiſed by the generality of conquerors, while intoxicated with a long and uninterrupted ſeries of ſucceſs.

Peace again concluded.

PRIBISLAUS, in the mean while, was quite diſconſolate at ſo many unproſperous turns of fortune, but eſpecially at the captivity of his brother Wertiſlaus: the loſs of the important town of Werle was alſo a terrible ſtroke to him; and ſo many calamities overwhelming him at once, he was ready to ſink under the weight of the oppreſſion. Finding his country quite ruined, his finances exhauſted, his people diſpirited, and himſelf in danger of being ſtripped of the remainder of his dominions, he judged it adviſeable to have recourſe once more to negociation, and to conclude a peace, could it be obtained on any reaſonable terms. For this purpoſe he deputed a proper perſon to make propoſals of an accommodation to the duke, who did not ſeem averſe to it, upon condition that Pribiſlaus would give hoſtages for the performance of the treaty. With this anſwer the meſſenger returned, and Pribiſlaus replied, "That the duke "had no occaſion for hoſtages, ſince he had his brother Werti-"ſlaus and ſeveral of the Venedic nobility in his cuſtody; and "that they would be a ſecurity * for his adhering ſtrictly to the "conditions of the agreement." In ſhort, Pribiſlaus conducted himſelf with great prudence in the management of this treaty, and ſhewed abilities † in the cabinet equal to thoſe which he afterwards diſplayed in the field. At length the peace was ſigned, and Pribiſlaus upon his ſubmiſſion was inveſted only with that part of his dominions, which is at preſent diſtinguiſhed by the name of the lordſhip of Roſtock. But the preſcribing of hard conditions to an enemy who is diſpoſed to a reconciliation, only exaſperates him the more, and is the cauſe that, altho' his power may be reduced, he is ever ready to renew the war. The Venedi,

* This only proves that Pribiſlaus propoſed them as hoſtages, but not that they offered themſelves voluntarily to be bound for the obſervance of the treaty.

† Helmoldus on this occaſion calls him vir acris ingenii.

however,

however, were now permitted to breathe, Henry the Lion having been called into Bavaria to quiet ſome diſturbances in that province. This made him the more inclined to an accommodation with Pribiſlaus; yet he refuſed to releaſe Wertiſlaus and the Venedic nobility from their confinement. Thus was tranquillity reſtored for a ſhort time, and the inhabitants of this diſtreſſed country began in ſome meaſure to recover from the horrors of war, and the dreadful proſpect of their impending deſtruction. In this ſituation did things continue from the month of March 1161 to February the enſuing year, when Geroldus biſhop of Lubeck exchanged this life for a better, and was ſucceeded by his brother Conrad abbot of Reddegeſhuſen.

Terrible ſtorm on the coaſt of Germany.

HENRY having ſettled his affairs in Bavaria, returned ſafe to Saxony, where he was received by his ſubjects with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy and affection. Not long after his arrival, a violent tempeſt aroſe in the month of February, which did an infinite deal of miſchief, not only by the number of veſſels loſt at ſea, but by the multitude of houſes overturned and levelled to the ground. Never were ſuch loud peals of thunder heard to rend the ſkies, nor ſuch coruſcations of lightning ſeen to ſhoot through the element. This dreadful tempeſt was attended with an inundation, which, according to the writers of that time, greatly exceeded any calamity of the kind recorded in hiſtory. The troubled ocean breaking looſe from its confinement, overflowed the whole coaſt of Friſeland and Holſtein, and all the low lands on the banks of the Elbe and the Weſer, with ſuch an amazing rapidity, that many thouſands of men, women, and children, and a vaſt number of cattle, were overwhelmed by the violence of the waves. Inundations in all ages have been conſidered by the credulous vulgar as harbingers of impending calamities*; no wonder then that the preſent omen ſhould ſpread a general alarm, and the deſtructive war that enſued, ſhould contribute to ſtrengthen the eſtabliſhed ſuperſtition †.

War between Henry and Pribiſlaus renewed.

ON the ſame day that this dreadful ſcourge had made ſuch ravages on the German coaſt, the tempeſt of war began to

* See Paganinus Gaudentius de Prodigiorum Significatione, c. 16. † Helm.

rage again with redoubled fury between Pribiſlaus and Henry, till it terminated in the extirpation of the whole nation of the Venedi, and the diſſolution of their monarchy. The late pacification brought but a ſhort interval to the miſeries of thoſe unhappy people; and, as matters now were circumſtanced, it was hardly poſſible they ſhould ceaſe but by their final deſtruction. Contiguous nations, differing in manners, language, and religion, are generally prompted by the influence of prejudice, by the ambition of their leaders, and by a fatal depravity inherent in human nature, to ſeek each other's deſtruction; and if they happen not to be balanced by an equal proportion of ſtrength, or by the addition of ſome auxiliary force to the lighter ſcale, the weakeſt muſt ſooner or later fall a ſacrifice to the ſtrongeſt, and be either exterminated by the ſword, or reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery and ſubjection. The Venedi were now in the ſame ſituation as the Carthaginians with regard to the Romans, when "delenda eſt "Carthago" was the general cry of a fierce and implacable enemy. In ſuch a ſituation it was impoſſible there ſhould be a laſting peace between the two nations. The Saxons were too rapacious and too haughty to reſign their conqueſts, and the Venedi too brave and too magnanimous to ſubmit to ſlavery. The whole nation were now ſenſible that nothing leſs than their final ruin was intended, and they had already experienced the effects of this barbarous purpoſe, in the extreme rigor and tyranny of the Saxon government. Is it therefore any ſurprize, that theſe brave, theſe warlike people, who had ſtruggled for ſo many ages with the Franks, Danes, and Saxons, for freedom and independence *, ſhould endeavour now to break their chains, and to make, as it were, a laſt effort to reſcue their prince, their wives, their children, and their miſerable country, from ſlavery and deſtruction? Their princes had been gradually deprived of the greateſt part of their dominions; and the lands and eſtates of the Venedi had been transferred to aliens, to vagrants, and to all ſorts of adventurers, under the pretence of propagating Chriſtianity, but in reality to ſtrengthen the power

* See p. 214.

of

of the conqueror. Niclotus, in particular, had been moſt unjuſtly attacked by the holy league; and, in conſequence of that attack, Pribiſlaus had been ſtripped of the ancient patrimony of his family, the territory of the Obotrites. Had not he then a right to attempt the recovery of that ancient patrimony, and to ſeize, by the juſtice of his arms, what had been wreſted from him by the injuſtice of conqueſt? No doubt but he had ſuch a right, and intended to aſſert it; but he was willing to wait till fortune ſhould throw an opportunity in his way of recommencing the war with ſome proſpect of advantage. He was ſenſible of the calamities that had already befallen his family in this dangerous conteſt; and of the farther miſeries in which another unſucceſsful war muſt inevitably involve both himſelf and his ſubjects. But his affection for his brother Wertiſlaus, who expreſſed great uneaſineſs under his confinement, ſuperſeded every other conſideration, and induced him to renew the war with duke Henry, ſoon after this prince's return from Bavaria. The ſolicitations he received from Wertiſlaus, on this occaſion were delivered to him in words to this effect:

"I CANNOT help being ſurprized at your indulging yourſelf in
"an inglorious indolence, at a time when your unfortunate bro-
"ther languiſhes under a moſt cruel captivity. Wertiſlaus, you
"know, is confined in chains; while you range at your eaſe, for-
"getful of his diſtreſs, and purſuing your diverſions. Let me
"beſeech you to throw off this ſupineneſs and neglect, retrieve
"your loſt time, rouſe from your lethargy, and ſhew yourſelf a
"man. Since you cannot obtain my freedom by negociation,
"endeavour to releaſe me by a vigorous exertion of your arms.
"Upon this occaſion I muſt remind you of the like ſituation of
"our father Niclotus, when he happened to be in durance at
"Lunenburg: in vain did we apply for his liberty; the duke
"was inflexible, and neither money could tempt him, nor ſup-
"plications ſoften the obduracy of his heart. But as ſoon as
"we determined to draw our ſwords in his defence, and made
"incurſions on the duke's territories, he changed his conduct,
"and conſented to releaſe our aged parent. The ſame ſucceſs

"may

" may alſo attend the vigor of your arms, if you exert your-
" ſelf with the like bravery in the defence of your captive
" brother,

" WERTISLAUS."

MANKIND are ever inclined to entertain ſome ray of hope, even in the greateſt diſtreſſes. Pribiſlaus was excited by this letter to flatter himſelf with the proſpect of a more favourable turn of fortune; and confiding in the juſtice of his cauſe, he determined to make another attempt for the recovery of his dominions and his brother's liberty. Still he acted with the greateſt ſecrecy in collecting his forces, and omitted none of thoſe precautions which are uſually obſerved by prudent generals. The Venedi flocking to him from all quarters, and enliſting moſt chearfully under his banner, he ſoon aſſembled an army, with which he marched into the neighbourhood of Mecklenburg, and ſuddenly inveſted that city.

Succeſſes of Pribiſlaus.

HENRY de Scaten was governor of Mecklenburg, in the name of Henry the Lion; but happened to be abſent on ſome affairs, when the Venedic army appeared before the city. After this place had been ſet on fire by Niclotus, it was rebuilt by duke Henry, who peopled it with a colony of Flemings. Though Pribiſlaus and his whole army muſt have been greatly incenſed againſt thoſe intruders, he was willing to treat with them about terms of ſurrender, in order to prevent the effuſion of human blood. An officer being deputed to acquaint the town that Pribiſlaus had propoſals to offer them, the chief inhabitants appeared upon the ramparts, when this prince with all confidence approached, and delivered his ſentiments in the following manner. " Great was the injuſtice done
" to me and my people, O ye men of Flanders, to diſpoſſeſs us
" of our ancient habitations and paternal inheritance. And you
" particularly have been concerned in this iniquitous act, by
" ſeizing our lands and eſtates, our towns, our villages, which
" belong to us by the right of hereditary ſucceſſion. I there-
" fore ſhall declare my mind to you in few words: it is in
" your option to chuſe either life or death. If you will open
" the gates of the town, and deliver up to us our ancient pro-

" perty,

" perty, we ſhall permit you peaceably to depart, with your " wives and children, and valuable effects; if any of my ſol- " diers, or any of my people, ſhould ſtrip or deprive you of the " whole or part of your goods, I promiſe to indemnify you with " twice the value: but ſhould you be ſo hardy and ſo obſtinate " as to refuſe complying with this equitable propoſal, and to " perſiſt in maintaining the town againſt its lawful ſovereign, " I ſolemnly proteſt to you, that if Providence bleſſes me with " ſucceſs, I ſhall order every man of you to be put to the " ſword." But this ſpeech made not the leaſt impreſſion on the inhabitants; they did not even condeſcend to give a civil reply, but ſignified their diſapprobation with a ſhower of miſſile weapons. All hopes of accommodation being now vaniſhed, the Venedi began the attack with ſuch vigor that they quickly ſtormed the town. The male inhabitants were put to the ſword, their wives and children carried into captivity, and the place was once more ſet on flames and levelled to the ground. Pribiſlaus was concerned at his being obliged to act with ſuch ſeverity; but it was neceſſary to ſtrike a terror into the other towns, and to puſh on his conqueſts with the utmoſt celerity, before duke Henry could muſter an army to march to their aſſiſtance.

THE city of Mecklenburg, once ſo celebrated in ſtory, and which ſtill gives name to the country of the Obotrites, and to the illuſtrious family whoſe annals I am recording, has undergone, like many other ſeats of empire, a ſtrange variety of revolutions. Of its foundation there is no certain account; but it muſt be of great antiquity, ſince it is vulgarly attributed to Anthyrius, the firſt king of the Vandals. By the writers of the middle ages it is frequently called Magnopolis, or Megapolis, which alludes to its extenſive circumference of twenty miles. But we have elſewhere obſerved that the word Mecklenburg ſeems to have originally ſignified a town of trade *, being advantageouſly ſituated for a moſt extenſive commerce. This flouriſhing city was long the reſidence of the kings of the Obotrites, who favoured it with conſiderable privileges. As ſo large a place could not conve-

* See p. 63.

niently

niently be encompaſſed with walls, three caſtles were erected there to keep the inhabitants in awe, and to ſerve for a defence upon the approach of an enemy. Two of theſe were in the extreme parts of the town, and the third was the palace of their ancient monarchs *. In this ſituation it continued till 1162, when Henry the Lion wreſted it from Pribiſlaus, and granted it to Henry de Scaten. It was now conſumed by fire, but rebuilt afterwards in 1170, by the very prince who unfortunately happened to deſtroy it. But the founding of Wiſmar in the thirteenth century prevented this place from recovering its ancient ſplendor, ſo that it is dwindled at length into an inſignificant village.

AFTER the deſtruction of this city, Pribiſlaus ordered his forces to proceed without delay to the town of Ilowe; but Gunzelinus having been informed of his motions, had time to throw himſelf into that place, with a few troops, before the arrival of the enemy. Being ſenſible that diſpatch is the ſoul of military operations, the Venedic monarch put himſelf at the head of a ſtrong detachment, and marched away with the utmoſt celerity before the reſt of the army, expecting to take the town of Ilowe by ſurprize, and to prevent the inhabitants from making their eſcape. No ſooner was intelligence received of this prince's approach than Gunzelinus called a council of war, in which he propoſed to ſally out directly, and attack Pribiſlaus, before he could be joined by the remainder of his forces. The reaſon he aſſigned was, that the enemy muſt be fatigued with their march, and with the ſlaughter committed in the morning. This motion was oppoſed by the greateſt part of the officers, who conſidered it as an imprudent ſcheme in their preſent ſituation: They ſaid that there was a great number of Venedi among the inhabitants; and though at preſent they ſeemed to behave peaceably, and to be well affected to the Saxon government, yet if he ventured to iſſue out with his troops, they would immediately ſeize the opportunity to ſhut the gates upon him, and deliver up the place into the hands of their countrymen.

* On the ſame ſpot there is ſtill a caſtle, known by the name of Mecklenburg, where a governor appointed by the duke uſually reſides.

ALARMED

ALARMED at theſe inſinuations, Gunzelinus ſummoned all the inhabitants, and in the preſence of the Venedi made an affectionate ſpeech to the Germans, cautioning them to be upon their guard, and to watch the motions of their inteſtine enemies. "My countrymen, ſaid he, I have been apprized of a "conſpiracy formed by the Venedi reſiding in this town, to be-"tray us into the hands of Pribiſlaus. I adviſe you therefore, "ſince you are devoted as victims to maſſacre and deſtruction, "that as ſoon as you perceive the leaſt tendency towards per-"petrating a deſign ſo horrid and perfidious, to place yourſelves "before the gates and ſet fire to the town, ſo that they and their "wives and children may be involved in the flames. If we are "to periſh, let them at the ſame time periſh too, and let us not "ſuffer one man among them to ſurvive us, and to exult in our "deſtruction." This ſpirited declaration ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Venedi, that notwithſtanding their loyalty and affection to Pribiſlaus, they durſt not carry their deſign into execution.

TOWARDS evening the whole Venedic army arrived before Ilowe, when Pribiſlaus flattered himſelf with the hopes of being immediately put into poſſeſſion of the town by means of his ſecret correſpondence; but not perceiving the ſignals which had been agreed upon, he contrived to ſend a letter directed to the principal inhabitants of the Venedic nation; the purport of which was as follows: "The hardſhips and miſeries in-"flicted on our country, by the oppreſſive and tyrannical be-"haviour of Henry duke of Saxony, are public facts with which "you are all well acquainted: you are ſenſible that he has de-"ſpoiled us of the patrimony of our anceſtors, and beſtowed it "on foreigners, Flemings, Hollanders, Saxons, and Weſtpha-"lians. My father, in endeavouring to repel this injury, "ſacrificed his life; my brother in the ſame cauſe has been de-"prived of his liberty; and now I am left alone to vindicate "the honour of the Venedi, and to redreſs my country's wrongs. "Remember your original, O my friends and countrymen; "think of your gallant anceſtors, who fought ſo long for free-"dom and independency, preferring all hardſhips and death to

" an ignominious ſlavery; reſume your courage, and perform " your promiſe, by putting me into poſſeſſion of the town, and " delivering into my hands thoſe men who have robbed us of " our eſtates, that I may puniſh them for their injuſtice in the " ſame manner as I have puniſhed the uſurpers at Mecklen- " burg." Yet this ſpirited letter had no effect upon the Venedic inhabitants, whoſe minds were too much terrified by the menaces of Gunzelinus. Pribiſlaus finding himſelf diſappointed, drew off his troops to ſome diſtance, in order to pitch upon a proper ſituation for encamping. Before dawn the next morning a council of war was called, and upon reflection it appeared, that as the town was defended by a ſtrong body of well-diſciplined troops under the command of Gunzelinus, the taking of it would be attended with immenſe difficulty, and muſt coſt the lives of a great number of men; therefore to lay ſiege to it would, in the preſent ſituation, be a very raſh enterprize. In conſequence of this reſolution the army was ordered to march back; and Gunzelinus, leaving a good garriſon in Ilowe, returned to Schwerin. The inhabitants of this town were tranſported with the preſence of their commander, whom they had ſuppoſed to have been ſlain; and with the news of his having preſerved the important fortreſs of Ilowe.

PRIBISLAUS could not help being chagrined at this diſappointment, which contributed to raiſe the ſpirits of the enemy. Yet far from being diſcouraged, he reſolved not to loſe a moment of time, but marched away to Malchow and Cuſhin, which he immediately inveſted. Then ſummoning the principal inhabitants of thoſe towns, he addreſſed himſelf to them much in the ſame manner as he had done to thoſe of Mecklenburg. " Very ſenſible I am " that you are gallant men, and determined to obey the or- " ders of your maſter, the duke of Saxony. This may be " right, if you have any expectation of ſucceſs; but as your ſitu- " ation is deſperate, let me adviſe you to one thing for your ad- " vantage, that is, to give me peaceable poſſeſſion of this " town, which belonged to my father, and devolved to me by

" the

" the right of inheritance, and I will grant you an eſcort to
" conduct you ſafe to the banks of the Elbe. I undertake to
" aſſure you, that you ſhall not be moleſted, and will be an-
" ſwerable for your property and effects. But if you ſhould be
" ſo ill adviſed, as to refuſe complying with theſe juſt condi-
" tions which I propoſe to you for your good, I muſt then
" have recourſe to another method, and reduce you by the force
" of arms: but remember the fate of Mecklenburg, whoſe in-
" habitants rejected my moderate propoſals, and obliged me,
" contrary to my inclinations, to treat them according to the
" rigor of war." This menacing ſpeech produced the deſired effect; the commanding officers finding themſelves in no very good poſture of defence, while the army of the beſiegers appeared very formidable, reſolved to accept of the terms propoſed by the enemy. The capitulation was therefore ſigned; the garriſons evacuated the town, and were conducted to the frontiers of Holſatia; and Pribiſlaus took eaſy poſſeſſion of both thoſe towns, without the effuſion of human blood.

1164. Germany alarmed.

THE news of Pribiſlaus's ſucceſs ſpread a general alarm throughout Germany, and gave particular uneaſineſs to duke Henry. This prince had flattered himſelf that the Venedi would have tamely ſubmitted to the Saxon yoke; but finding himſelf diſappointed, his indignation roſe to the higheſt pitch, ſo that he threatened to be revenged of Pribiſlaus, and to exterminate his whole nation. For this purpoſe he entered into a freſh alliance with Waldemar king of Denmark; and, to ſtrengthen their union, a contract of marriage was executed between Canute prince of Denmark and Gertrude, the daughter of Henry. To negociate this treaty, Waldemar had appointed Abſalon his ambaſſador to the court of Saxony; and Priſclavus, the ſon of Niclotus, being well acquainted with the country, offered to attend that prelate for his greater ſecurity. In their return Priſclavus behaved with his uſual bravery, when they were in danger of being ſurprized by a party of the Venedi. Obſerving the enemy at ſome diſtance,

he turned about to his retinue, and desired them to prepare for fighting, since they would shortly be attacked; adding, that it would be far preferable for them to die sword in hand than to surrender themselves prisoners; for his brother would inevitably put them to the most excruciating tortures, in revenge for the death of his father. His speech prevailed; the Danes fought their way through; and Priscavus had the honour of conducting the bishop safe back to Denmark. The duke, in the mean time, ordered new levies to be made, and troops to move from all parts to the frontiers of Vandalia. Religion was again called in to the aid of those allies, who endeavoured to cover their own private views with a pretence of extirpating infidelity. Thus was the croisade once more revived against this distressed nation, and all the enthusiastic princes of Germany invited to join in the sacred warfare against an enemy devoted to final destruction. Henry gave directions to count Adolphus, and the chief nobility of Holsatia, to march with all their forces to Ilowe, in order to secure that place against any surprize from the Venedi; and at the same time he sent a detachment of troops to Schwerin, to strengthen that garrison. The whole army being assembled, he began his march towards the Elbe, and by the way was joined by his cousin Albert the Bear marquis of Brandenburg, with most of the princes and leading men in Saxony. The operations of the campaign were agreed upon by the several powers. Henry was to send a body of cavalry into the enemy's country, while he himself followed by slow marches at the head of the infantry: at the same time, Waldemar king of Denmark had engaged to block up the sea-ports, and to oppose the Venedic fleet.

The croisade against the Venedi renewed.

As soon as the duke had passed the Elbe and entered the territory of Vandalia, he began his operations with an act of severity which will be an eternal blot on his memory. The reader may remember, that at the taking of Werle prince Wertislaus, brother of Pribislaus, with the rest of the garrison, were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. A peace soon after

The duke orders prince Wertislaus to be hanged.

after enſued, and Wertiſlaus was, by his brother's conſent, detained as hoſtage for the execution of the treaty. Thus were matters circumſtanced, when the duke, upon his arrival in the neighbourhood of Malchow, ordered a gibbet to be erected, and cauſed the unhappy prince Wertiſlaus, whom he had brought with him from Lunenburg for that purpoſe, to be hanged upon it as a common criminal, in the preſence of the whole army. The only reaſon he aſſigned for this act of barbarity was, that Pribiſlaus had violated his laſt compact, for the performance of which the prince his brother had remained with him as a ſecurity. At the ſame time he hanged with Wertiſlaus two of the Venedic nobility, one named Pritzbur, and the other Gamme, who ſuffered this ignominious puniſhment for defending their country, and for behaving with fidelity to their lawful ſovereign.

Reflections on that ſentence.

IT is impoſſible to reconcile the conduct of duke Henry on this melancholy occaſion to the principles of juſtice or humanity *. Prince Wertiſlaus had not offered his ſervice as a hoſtage of his own accord, or agreed to be anſwerable for the performance of his brother's engagement. This may eaſily be inferred from the uneaſineſs he expreſſed under his captivity, and from the repeated complaints he made to Pribiſlaus for neglecting to reſcue him out of the hands of the enemy. Had he ſurrendered himſelf, or been contented to remain, as a voluntary hoſtage, he would not have vented ſuch lamentations in his confinement, when he was conſcious that he had undertaken this duty to his country and to his prince, for the ratification of a public contract. And though a ſovereign may perhaps oblige a ſubject to ſerve in the character of a hoſtage, when there are none ſo public-ſpirited as to offer themſelves of their own accord, yet it does not appear that this was the caſe of the unfortunate Wertiſlaus. But even granting that this prince had been a hoſtage in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word, and that he either voluntarily

* Even Beehr, who is a perpetual admirer of the duke, does not pretend to excuſe this act. He ſays only, that Henry thought himſelf juſtified by the right of war, quod putabat licere jure belli.

offered

offered himſelf for that ſervice, or his brother had a right, and did enforce that right, to appoint him againſt his will, yet ſurely no prince or ſtate can engage more than the corporal liberty, and not the life, of the hoſtage. This ſurely is the law of nations, this the right of war, founded in humanity and reaſon, and ſtrengthened by the milder inſtitutions of Chriſtianity, beyond which it is ungenerous and unjuſt to extend the liberties of hoſtility. It is therefore very plain, that prince Wertiſlaus could not, conſiſtently with humanity or juſtice, be put to death, on account of any infringement of treaty committed by his brother. Much leſs could he be deprived of life merely as a priſoner of war *, becauſe all ſuch right over the life of a priſoner, except where ſelf-preſervation requires it, is founded in barbarity and injuſtice. I am not ignorant that ſome civilians, influenced chiefly by the practice of the Romans, have been ſo unreaſonable as to aſſert, that a conqueror has a right to put priſoners of war as well as hoſtages to death. But ſurely conquerors ought to be directed by the law of nature, by which we are taught to extend the ſame clemency towards thoſe whom fortune has ſubjected to our power, as we ſhould deſire to receive at their hands were we ourſelves reduced to the like diſtreſs. A conqueror has no right to kill in cool blood, but in the caſe of his own ſafety or ſelf-defence; nor has he a right even to make ſlaves of his priſoners, but when it becomes neceſſary for the preſerving of his conqueſt. The practice of the Romans with regard to war, in many inſtances, was moſt barbarous and cruel, founded on the principles of lawleſs ambition. Their aim being to reduce the whole world to a ſtate of ſlavery, they exerciſed great ſeverities againſt thoſe, who were unſucceſsful in endeavouring to ſtem the torrent of their arms. By ſuch barbarous practices they were in hopes of intimidating diſtant nations, when death or ſervitude was the inevitable fate of ſuch as had the mis-

* But it would ſeem, that the duke did not put him to death as a priſoner of war, becauſe he had ſurrendered himſelf on condition that his life ſhould be ſpared. See p. 393.

fortune

fortune of falling into their hands. Neither had they any regard to perſons, for even captive kings were moſt barbarouſly ſtripped of their lives, after being exhibited as a ſpectacle by that proud nation, to adorn the ſolemnity of their triumphs. Let not then the practice of thoſe plunderers of the earth, whom neither the eaſtern nor weſtern world could ſatiate, be produced as a precedent for other nations; but let the rights of war be derived from the purer ſource of humanity and juſtice. It was a misfortune, however, to the human race, that the barbarous cuſtom of murdering priſoners in cold blood too long prevailed among European nations, even after the extinction of Roman tyranny *; and it was not till the revival of letters and the polite arts had humanized our manners, that the ancient rigor of war was relaxed, and the barbarous licence of killing defenceleſs captives entirely aboliſhed. We may congratulate the preſent age for their farther improvements in humanity, when priſoners of war are not only ſecure from the danger of the ſword, but are even relieved by the voluntary contributions of their generous enemies; of which we have ſeen a noble inſtance in this kingdom, that does honour to human nature.

Character of Wertiſſaus.

THE prince whoſe cataſtrophe gave riſe to theſe reflections, was poſſeſſed of great virtues, which occaſioned his death to be deeply lamented: Generous, humane, and affable, he had conciliated the univerſal good will of his countrymen, by whom he was revered as one of the chief ſupports of their liberty. His valour was undaunted, and he was paſſionately fond of military glory. His civil virtues throw a ſtill greater luſtre on his character; and his private life was free from blemiſh or imperfection. He had no ambition but that of ſerving his country, and reſcuing it from the ravenous jaws

* They who are acquainted with the hiſtories of France and England, eſpecially during the civil wars of both nations, cannot be ſtrangers to thoſe cruelties; but I ſhall mention only one inſtance to our purpoſe, the barbarity of which is perhaps unparalleled in hiſtory, namely, the behaviour of the emperor Otho to the Venedi. Wittekind the monk informs us, lib. ii. that this prince put ſeventy thouſand of that poor nation to death, whom he had taken priſoners of war. Yet theſe are the heroes celebrated by the Saxons for propagating Chriſtianity, by exterminating whole nations. Cum ſolitudinem faciunt, religionem vocant.

of oppreſſion. His breaſt was ſuſceptible of the tendereſt ſentiments, filial duty, brotherly love, and conjugal affection *. With his brother Pribiſlaus he had ever lived in the ſtricteſt harmony; nor ſhewed he any deſire to diſturb the public peace, by pretending to a ſhare of the ſovereignty. His duty to his father appeared moſt conſpicuous in his conduct upon the impriſonment of that prince, when he made ſuch vigorous and effectual efforts for the recovery of his liberty. He died at length in the ſame glorious cauſe as his father, the cauſe of liberty, to which he ſacrificed a life that had been entirely devoted to the welfare and proſperity of his country. The ignominy of his puniſhment only reflects a greater honour on his memory; and the prince who, in the tranſport of his paſſion and reſentment, dared to erect a gibbet for ſo illuſtrious a captive, may be juſtly ſaid to have raiſed a monument of ſhame to himſelf, and of glory to the injured and much lamented Wertiſlaus.

The duke's operations againſt the Venedi.

In purſuance of the duke's orders, count Adolphus had marched with the van of the army to a place called Viruchne †, within two miles of Demmin, and there he pitched his camp. Under him he had count Gunzelinus, governor of the country of the Obotrites, Reinoldus count of Ditmarſia, and Chriſtian count of Oldenburg, with the troops that had been drawn from their reſpective provinces. The duke and the other princes ſtaid behind at Malchow, with the main body of the army, waiting for a convoy of proviſions, and for the heavy baggage. Pribiſlaus ſeeing himſelf in danger of being cruſhed by a formidable army, irritated by oppoſition, and inflamed by their eccleſiaſtics, who had ſounded to war the trumpet of the Lord, applied to his kinſmen Caſimir and Bogiſlaus, princes of Pomerania, for their aid and aſſiſtance in this critical conjuncture. He endeavoured to make them ſenſible of the neceſſity of uniting their forces,

* He married a princeſs whoſe name and family are not known, and left an only ſon by her, Niclotus prince of Roſtock, who married Anne of Brandenburg, and died in 1200.

† Now Verchem, ſituated half way between Demmin and Malchow.

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in the ſupport of a cauſe in which they were ſo nearly concerned; that the duke's deſign was to extirpate the Venedic name, and to eſtabliſh his glory on the ruins of their whole nation. He expatiated on the implacable fury of his enemies, whom nothing but the entire poſſeſſion of his dominions, and the extermination of his people, could ſatiate; but he particularly dwelt on the glory they would acquire by ſtanding up in defence of their own family and nation, and in ſupport of their independency againſt the exorbitant and oppreſſive power of the duke of Saxony; that for his part he was conſcious of the juſtice of his cauſe, which he would defend with the laſt drop of his blood, and rather than ſubmit to be a ſlave, he would chearfully lay down his life, and bury himſelf in the ruins of his country. Such weight had theſe arguments with the princes of Pomerania, that although they were not united with Pribiſlaus in religion, being ſincere profeſſors of Chriſtianity, yet out of commiſeration to his diſtreſſes, and juſt indignation againſt his unrelenting oppreſſors, they bravely ventured to eſpouſe his cauſe, and, in virtue of a private treaty, they joined him with all their forces. This junction, however, rendering them no way a match for the confederate army under duke Henry's command, they judged it prudent to retreat, as the Saxons advanced, till at length they halted in the neighbourhood of Demmin. Here they held a council of war, the reſult of which was to enter into a negotiation with count Adolphus, whom they knew to be in the neighbourhood with the van, in hopes of amuſing him and ſurprizing his quarters. An officer was accordingly diſpatched to the count, with propoſals of making an entire ſubmiſſion to the duke, and paying him moreover the ſum of three thouſand marks. The count being ſenſible that the duke was in want of money, would perhaps have acquieſced in the propoſal, had not another meſſenger immediately followed, who reduced the ſum to two thouſand marks. During this negotiation, Pribiſlaus had employed his ſpies to ſteal into the count's army in the night, in order to gain information of the ſtrength and ſituation

of the enemy. The ſpies found no difficulty in procuring what intelligence they wanted, being aſſiſted by ſome Aldenburghers in the Saxon army, who were of Venedic extraction, and zealouſly affected to the cauſe of Pribiſlaus. Treacheries of this kind muſt be often committed in armies, where proper precaution is not taken to exclude all perſons of ſuſpected fidelity. Offended at the ſecond meſſage, by which the Venedi had lowered their propoſal, Adolphus broke off the conferences, declaring he would treat no longer with an enemy whoſe only intent was to amuſe and gain time. By this negotiation, however, it plainly appeared, that thoſe princes in alliance againſt the Venedi, notwithſtanding their boaſted pretences, were not ſo much actuated by the cauſe of religion, as by the mean incentives of avarice, and the expectation of plunder.

The battle of Demmin.

THIS reſolution being taken, count Adolphus waited for the duke's arrival with the remainder of the army, to fall upon the enemy, and to cruſh them by one deciſive blow, which ſhould finally terminate the conteſt of liberty and empire, ſo many ages depending between the Saxons and the Venedi. The count was brave and intrepid; but had too great a confidence in his own abilities, and in the ſuperior ſtrength and diſcipline of his troops. Hence he was vainly prompted to look upon the enemy with contempt, and neglect thoſe precautions which are neceſſary to prevent a ſurprize. The maxim of great captains has been, never to deſpiſe an enemy, however weak or diſtreſſed; and the contrary conduct has often proved of fatal conſequence. But to ſuch a degree of infatuation was the count arrived at this juncture, that notwithſtanding he had received ſeveral intimations from an experienced officer under his command, whoſe name was Marchradus, that the Saxon troops were very remiſs in their diſcipline; that neither the ſcouts nor centinels acted with proper vigilance; that the Venedi were preparing for ſome important action, and, if greater caution were not uſed, would certainly ſurprize him; ſtill he heeded not theſe counſels, but inſiſted that there was no danger from an enemy who

were

were quite degenerated, and had loſt all their ancient valour. No wonder that a general, who conducted himſelf with ſuch uncommon temerity, ſhould fall a victim to his own folly. While the count continued in his camp, in daily expectation of being joined by the main body of the army, the troops under his command began to be ſtreightened for proviſions; and no intelligence having been lately received from the duke, ſome of the light forces * were ordered by the general to ſet out early in the morning, and acquaint that prince with this diſagreeable ſituation, and how greatly the troops ſtood in need of his aſſiſtance. Pribiſlaus being apprized of the ſecurity of the Saxon army, had, like a prudent commander, determined to avail himſelf of this favourable circumſtance, and to attack them early that morning, in expectation of ſurprizing them in a profound ſleep, and gaining an eaſy victory over men incapable of reſiſtance. His plan was well concerted, and in all probability he would have deſtroyed the whole army under count Adolphus, had not an unproſperous turn of fortune defeated this enterprize. The Saxon light troops had begun their march by break of day, and were juſt aſcending a gentle declivity, when, to their great ſurprize, they fell in with the whole Venedic army. Seized with the utmoſt conſternation, they immediately fled back, and ſpreading the alarm through the whole camp, rouſed the unwary troops out of their ſhameful ſlumbers. So lucky an incident preſerved the greateſt part of the army from ruin, whoſe eyes muſt have been locked in eternal ſleep, had they been ſurprized at that time by the Venedi. The news of the enemy's approach being diffuſed among the troops, great confuſion aroſe before they could recover their arms, or be able to make head againſt the enemy. Count Adolphus and Reinoldus, with the Holſatians and Ditmarſians under their command, were the firſt that awoke, and, buckling on their armour, arrived in proper time to meet the van of the Venedic army, juſt as they had approached the bottom of the fore-mentioned declivity. The two counts without delay ordered their

* They are called pueri by Helmoldus.

men to attack the enemy upon their march, before they had time to breathe; and ſo briſkly were thoſe orders executed, that the Venedi were driven back to the main body of their army. Freſh troops, however, advancing, and Pribiſlaus exerting the utmoſt vigor of ſpirit and arm to animate his men, Adolphus and Reinoldus were both overpowered by numbers, and, after performing great feats of valour, fell ſword in hand, in the midſt of their ſlaughtered enemies. With them periſhed many of the braveſt men in the whole Saxon army, who had been animated by their example to ſtem the impetuous torrent of the enemy's forces. Diſpirited by the loſs of their commanders, the Saxon troops began to give ground on every ſide, till at length they turned their backs, and in great confuſion reſigned the field to the ſuperior fortune and valour of the Venedi. The ſucceſs of the day would have been now complete, and Pribiſlaus might perhaps have given laws in his turn to his potent rival, when the avidity of plunder unhappily ſeized his men, and ſnatched the victory out of the hands of their general. The Saxons being routed and diſperſed, the Venedi ſpread themſelves throughout their camp, but were prevented by the immediate proſpect of booty from purſuing the enemy. While they were thus intent upon their prey, and neither by the menaces nor entreaties of Pribiſlaus could be prevailed upon to improve their advantage againſt the vanquiſhed Saxons, Gunzelinus and Chriſtian count of Oldenburg, with a corps of three hundred knights or men at arms * under their command, hovered at ſome diſtance, dubious how to act in this ſituation, whether they ſhould retire and join the duke, or watch the enemy's motions, and endeavour to take advantage of their preſent confuſion. During this ſuſpence, they perceived a body of the enemy attempting to force their way into a quarter of their camp, where the Saxon eſquires or armour-bearers † made a very bold ſtand, and ſtruggled hard to defend the baggage. At the ſight of their maſters, the eſquires aſſumed freſh courage, and raiſing their voices, up-

* Theſe by Helmoldus are called Milites.

† In Helmoldus they are ſtiled Armigeri.

braided

braided them with the ignominy of behaving like indifferent ſpectators, when both duty and honour called upon them to fly to the aſſiſtance of their diſtreſſed ſervants. Excited by theſe reproaches, the knights made a ſudden attack upon that party of the Venedi, and meeting with a very faint reſiſtance from an enemy in confuſion and diſorder, had the good fortune to preſerve their eſquires from deſtruction. Then darting with the rapidity of lightning on the reſt of the enemy, diſperſed in various quarters, and ſecurely rioting in purſuit of plunder, they drove their late conquerors out of the camp, and obliged them to retreat in their turn in the utmoſt confuſion. The Saxons, who had been ſo lately defeated and diſheartened, began now to rally on every ſide, and ſeeing the Venedi in great diſorder, charged them with ſuch impetuoſity, that they ſoon gave way, and, in ſpite of all the efforts of Pribiſlaus, were at length entirely routed. The loſs on the ſide of the victors was not very conſiderable, if we except count Adolphus; but no leſs than two thouſand five hundred are ſaid to have been ſlain on the ſide of the Venedi. Thus the unfortunate Pribiſlaus, after fighting with the moſt heroic valour, had the extreme mortification of ſeeing himſelf irrecoverably ruined by the inordinate avidity of his troops; and theſe had the diſgrace of being diſcomfited by an inconſiderable remnant of that very army, over which they had been ſo lately triumphant.

Remarks on the battle of Demmin.

SUCH was the event of this memorable day, and of the famous battle of Demmin, the loſs of which was attended with the extermination of the Venedi, and the final extinction of their ancient monarchy. This being a revolution ſo celebrated in hiſtory, and eſpecially in the annals of Mecklenburg, I cannot help indulging a few reflections on that melancholy ſcene, and on the cauſe of an overthrow ſo fatal to that nation, and to their unfortunate ſovereign Pribiſlaus. Hiſtory is but a conſtant repetition of ſimilar events, perpetually repreſenting the ambition of princes, the cruelty of tyrants, the rapaciouſneſs of governors, the artifices of miniſters, the flattery and jealouſy of courtiers, with the levity and folly of the giddy multitude. Thus

Thus we find that mankind have been in all ages the ſame in their nature and diſpoſition, the ſame paſſions and weakneſs, and the ſame ill conſequences attending the irregularity of human conduct. The battle of Demmin is an exact picture of that of Treves, between Civilis and Cerealis, when the Germans, under the former commander, fighting againſt the Romans in defence of their liberty, had put their enemies to flight; but coming to the tents and baggage, they who before had gained the palm were ſuddenly confounded, loſt their courage, and at length turned their backs, by a conteſt among themſelves concerning the booty, to purſue which they ſhamefully neglected to complete the overthrow of their enemies *. Thus the love of plunder, ſo deſtructive of order and diſcipline in armies, is a paſſion that has prevailed in every age, and whoſe pernicious conſequences even the ableſt generals have not always been able to prevent. And perhaps the effects of this diſorder are more frequently experienced in modern times, when meanneſs of birth, and want of education, in the common ſoldiers, renders them more liable to yield to this inſatiable cupidity, which men of a liberal education, actuated by the nobler incentive of glory, uſe every endeavour to baniſh from their breaſts. When we conſider the many battles that have been loſt, and the victories that have been relinquiſhed, for the ſake of plunder, we are naturally ſeized with indignation againſt thoſe wretches who have indulged this inordinate deſire, to the ſacrifice of their duty, and to the irreparable loſs of their injured country. In the caſe before us, the behaviour of the Venedic army is moſt deſerving of infamy and reproach. Their ſovereign's crown, their country's welfare, their own liberty and preſervation, together with that of their wives and children, were all at ſtake, when, inſtead of purſuing the blow, which might have enabled them to avenge their country's wrongs, and to break the bonds of an oppreſſor, whoſe ſword was conſtantly levelled at their throats, they ſuffered themſelves to be diverted from that purſuit by the trifling

* Obſtitit vincentibus pravum inter ipſos certamen, hoſte omiſſo, ſpolia conſectandi. Tacit. Hiſt. lib. iv.

intereſt

intereſt of the ſpoils of a camp, which, if they had but completed their victory, muſt inevitably have fallen into their poſſeſſion. But no conſideration will take place, where the ſordid paſſion of avarice prevails; the preſent object faſcinates the eye; and the mind, in the giddineſs of its infatuation, loſes ſight of the nobler incentives of conſcious virtue, ſenſe of honour, and military duty.

THE detail of the preſent battle, as it may afford ſome inſtruction to thoſe, whoſe views in peruſing the works of hiſtorians are not confined to mere amuſement, gives us likewiſe an opportunity of ſatisfying the curious with regard to the different ranks of ſoldiers at that period of time *, which will contribute to elucidate ſome paſſages in the foregoing narration, that perhaps would otherwiſe appear intricate to many of our readers. We have taken notice that ſome of the light forces, called pueri or boys, had been ſent by count Adolphus to acquaint duke Henry with his preſent diſtreſs; and it has been alſo mentioned, that the armigeri, or eſquires, called out for aſſiſtance to the milites, or men at arms. Here we find three different degrees or ranks of ſoldiers, diſtinguiſhed by the appellations of milites, armigeri, and pueri. The milites were properly the ſame as the equites, or knights; they were obliged to be of gentlemens' families, and to be poſſeſſed of ſome fortune †; they were clad in armour, uſually wearing a brigantine or coat of mail, whence we have ſtiled them men at arms, and they were frequently called loricati, which ſignifies the ſame perſons as the milites. The next in order were the armigeri, that is, the eſquires or armour-bearers, who are alſo called ſervi, ſatellites, and tyrones, by different authors; theſe appellations they received from their duty of waiting upon the knights during their apprenticeſhip in chivalry, till they received the cingulum militare. The third rank was that of the pueri, or boys, who were young ſoldiers, as their name implies, ſome-

* That is, in the middle ages, and indeed during the whole time that chivalry obtained.

† In Germany they were obliged to have four manſi, or manors, at leaſt.

thing

thing like the velites of the Romans, who were choſen upon occaſion to ſkirmiſh before the main body of the army; except that they were not of mean condition like the velites, but of gentlemens' families as well as the armigeri, and both were capable of being raiſed to the dignity of knighthood *. This order of ſoldiers were chiefly uſed for their ſwiftneſs and expedition, in foraging parties, and in carrying meſſages for the general. They were trained up in camps from the age of five, were inured to all hardſhips, waited upon the knights, and made part of their families; neither did they reckon this a diſgrace, but it was conſidered as a conſequence of their apprenticeſhip. When they arrived at a proper age, they were created armigeri; but before they could be admitted as knights, they were obliged to prove that they had been ſeven years in the army, or at leaſt that they had been armour-bearers or eſquires for that time to ſome knight, and attended him in all his expeditions, battles, and tournaments. The pueri wore their maſters livery, and were emancipated by a box on the ear. The armigeri or eſquires were dreſſed in a white garment, and maintained at the expence of their maſter *. This was called being ad panem & vinum, and reckoned no way diſhonourable; and the emancipation from this ſervice was ſtiled by the French miſe hors de pain. But it is time now to reſume the thread of our narration.

The duke having received intelligence of the enemy's attack, was in full march to ſupport the van-guard under Adolphus, but did not arrive in time to be preſent at the action. The loſs of his friend the count, with ſuch a number of gallant men, gave him a moſt ſenſible affliction, which was alleviated, however, by the news of ſo complete a victory obtained by Gunzelinus. After he had paid the tribute of friendly tears over the dead body of count Adolphus, he ordered it to be embalmed and ſent to Minden, there to be interred among his anceſtors. In the

* Sexaginta juvenes nobiles, qui armigeri vocantur, ad militarem habitum tranſtulit. Arnold. Lub. † Rovelingius, Hundius, Beehr.

mean

mean time, Pribiſlaus and the Pomeranian princes, with the remains of their ſhattered army, retired with great precipitation to Demmin, to which place they ſet fire, to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy. And now finding themſelves unable any longer to oppoſe the duke with open force, they reſolved to harraſs him with flying parties, and to retire as he advanced, into the inner diſtricts of Pomerania. The duke ſoon after arrived at Demmin with his whole army, and finding the town demoliſhed by fire, ordered a body of troops to be quartered in the neighbourhood, with a view of levelling the fortifications, and of taking care of the ſick and wounded. From thence he proceeded with the remainder of his forces to meet Waldemar king of Denmark; and, after a mutual exchange of civilities, they entered into a new treaty, in virtue of which the ſpoils of the enemy were to be equally divided betwixt them, and Waldemar was moreover to pay a conſiderable ſum to Henry, for guarantying his ſubjects againſt any future depredations. This treaty being ſettled to their ſatisfaction, they determined to plunder and lay waſte the whole country of Pomerania, in revenge for the aſſiſtance granted to Pribiſlaus.

POMERANIA was now over-run with foreign armies, which ſpread terror and deſolation wherever they advanced. Waldemar marched towards Wolgaſt, the capital of that country, and found it entirely deſerted. The citizens, however, apprehending that the Daniſh monarch would proceed againſt them with fire and ſword, ſent deputies to make their ſubmiſſion, on condition he would ſpare their habitations. The terms were agreed to; but it was farther inſiſted, that the Rugians † ſhould pay a tribute, and give hoſtages; that the mouth of the river Peine, which had been a harbour for the enemy's privateers, ſhould be ſtopped up, and rendered incapable of receiving veſſels of burden*.

WHILE this proſperity attended the Daniſh arms, duke Henry with the forces under his command, had penetrated as far as

* The Rugians muſt have joined in this war with the reſt of the Venedi; but the particulars are very imperfectly related by the Daniſh hiſtorians.

† Meurs.

Stolpe, where prince Caſimir and Bogiſlaus, his brother, had founded an abbey in memory of their father Wertiſlaus, the firſt Venedic prince of Pomerania that embraced the Chriſtian religion, who was ſlain and interred on that very ſpot in 1186. The duke having now trod all oppoſition under his feet, determined to exerciſe the utmoſt rigor of the ſword throughout Pomerania, when he received advice that an ambaſſador from the emperor Emanuel was arrived with a very grand retinue at Brunſwick. This lucky incident preſerved that province from deſtruction; Henry ſtopped ſhort in the midſt of his career, in order to give audience to the ambaſſador, whoſe commiſſion was only a ceremony of congratulation on his mighty exploits, the fame of which had diffuſed itſelf over the eaſtern empire. A negociation was therefore ſet on foot with the princes of Pomerania, who, to ſave their country from ruin, were obliged to pay a yearly tribute to the duke. The peace being ſigned, this prince returned with the utmoſt diligence to Brunſwick.

The princes of Pomerania had uſed every endeavour to include their couſin Pribiſlaus in this treaty; but their interpoſition proved ineffectual; the duke was relentleſs and implacable, and probably thinking he had injured that prince beyond hopes of forgiveneſs, determined to reject all propoſals of accommodation, but to proceed immediately to the ruin and devaſtation of his country. Yet the Venedic hero was not diſmayed; he ſtill hoped to revive the declining ſtate of his affairs, as his couſins, notwithſtanding the late treaty, continued to afford him ſhelter in Pomerania. He therefore ſet about rebuilding the town of Demmin; and being deprived of all regular reſources to maintain his ſoldiers, he made incurſions from thence into the country of Schwerin and Ratzeburg, and frequently returned with a conſiderable booty. But this gleam of ſucceſs was of very ſhort continuance: Count Gunzelinus muſtering all the Saxon forces, ſoon overpowered this little remnant of an army, and by repeated ſkirmiſhes and ambuſcades broke it to ſuch a degree, that Pribiſlaus was abſolutely diſlodged from the neigh-

neighbourhood of Demmin, and rendered incapable of continuing his incurſions. He was farther diſcouraged from ſuch enterprizes by the repreſentations of his kinſmen, Caſimir and Bogiſlaus, who at the ſame time that they declared their readineſs to give him the moſt hoſpitable reception, expreſſed a reſolution of diſcountenancing any farther hoſtilities againſt the Saxons. Their reaſons were, that they had lately ſigned a treaty with the duke, and were determined to obſerve it; that their quarrels with that prince had already involved their country in very heavy calamities; and that no proſpect of ſucceſs or advantage could be expected from another rupture with ſo ſuperior an enemy. The princes having declared their reſolution, theſe arguments were unanſwerable; and Pribiſlaus being deſtitute of every other reſource than hope, the chief conſolation of the diſtreſſed, calmly acquieſced in their counſels, and reſigned himſelf to his angry deſtiny.

Cruelty of the Saxons.

THE Saxons having now entirely completed the conqueſt of Vandalia, determined to execute their barbarous purpoſe of extirpating the whole nation of the Venedi. The country had already been in a great meaſure exhauſted by the bloody conteſt it had maintained ſince the commencement of the holy league, and eſpecially by the laſt war, which of all others had been the moſt ruinous. But oppoſition having now entirely ceaſed, from the impotency of the vanquiſhed, all the horrors and miſeries that a wanton and exaſperated conqueror can inflict, the unhappy Venedi were doomed to experience. We could wiſh, indeed, for the honour of human nature, that we were permitted to draw a veil over the cruelties of every kind which were exerciſed on the defenceleſs multitude by an unrelenting enemy; but our regard for the laws of hiſtory obliges us not to diſguiſe the truth, however horrid and diſguſting to readers endowed with common humanity. The whole country was now become a theatre of rapine and confuſion, filled with every imaginable ſcene of ſlaughter and barbarity. The Saxon ſoldiery ſeemed to be irritated, by long enmity and rancour, to a moſt inſatiable pitch of revenge, which rendered them quite hardened and incapa-

ble of being affected by ſentiments of compaſſion. Their ſwords were indiſcriminately drawn on the armed and the defenceleſs, on the robuſt and the impotent; and neither age, ſex, nor condition was ſpared in this general maſſacre. The ſtreets were filled with mangled corſes, and every place of public reſort was dyed with blood. The temples, the woods, the groves of Vandalia, were all reduced to aſhes, and their prieſts were ſacrificed to the undiſtinguiſhing fury of the victors. Perſons of rank and figure ſhared the fortune of the vulgar, and were either murdered in the crowd, or obliged to fly from the barbarity of thoſe ravagers. Thoſe who attempted to eſcape were butchered in heaps, and the roads throughout the country were ſtrewed with dead bodies. Having glutted themſelves with ſlaughter, during the firſt impulſe of their fury, they at length began to indulge their inſatiable cupidity, ſparing not any property of the enemy that remained in the whole country, but ſeizing it all with their rapacious hands as lawful plunder. In conſequence of this inhumanity, the few that eſcaped the ſword were left deſtitute of all means of ſubſiſtence, ſo that the ſcourge of devouring famine followed that of the deſtructive ſword. This obliged many of thoſe poor people, who had concealed themſelves in lurking places, to retire to Denmark and Pomerania, while others withdrew to Luſatia and the marquiſate of Brandenburg. Some few made their eſcape to the duchy of Lunenburg; but the far greater part, who were content to accept of life and ſervitude under their barbarous conquerors, were ſold for ſlaves to the Poles and Bohemians. And as theſe unfortunate wretches were commonly known at that time by the name of Slavi, hence it came to paſs that this appellation was afterwards applied to diſtinguiſh all ſuch perſons as were reduced to a ſtate of ſervitude. In the inland provinces of Germany, to which thoſe exiles retired, they were every where treated as ſlaves, and employed in the laborious offices of manuring and tilling the land. To complete this diſmal ſcene, the conquerors added the moſt inſulting contumely to the barbarity of their oppreſſion; for the name of thoſe unhappy people was rendered a term of

infamy

infamy and diſgrace, to ſuch a degree that the Saxons who ſeized their lands would not for a conſiderable time ſuffer any ſtranger to live among them, unleſs he would ſwear that he was not of Venedic extraction. But, as if the rage of the victors could not be ſated with the extirpation of the inhabitants, they exerciſed their vengeance on the very country, burning and deſtroying the houſes, the buildings of all ſorts, the groves, the gardens, and every mark of human cultivation. And to ſuch an extravagant pitch of exceſs did they carry this inſolence, that there was not ſo much as a tree or a houſe for the harmleſs ſwallows to make their neſts; but theſe poor birds were under a neceſſity of retiring to the ſea-coaſt, and of building their little habitations in the ſterns of ſhips. In ſhort, at the concluſion of the tragedy, the whole country of Vandalia had the appearance of a dreary waſte or barren deſart, locus vaſtæ ſolitudinis, as Henry the Lion himſelf obſerves in his letters-patent, by which the biſhopric of Schwerin was founded *.

Reflections on the right of conqueſt.

When we contemplate this ſcene of miſery and devaſtation with a philoſophic eye, at a period of time in which the veil of prejudices ariſing from national antipathy and religion is removed, we cannot help dropping a few tears on the melancholy fate of the gallant but unfortunate nation of the Venedi. Few revolutions in hiſtory were attended with ſuch circumſtances of barbarity, or proved more deſtructive to the ancient inhabitants. Civilized nations, and eſpecially ſuch as pretend to Chriſtianity, have ſeldom or never carried their rights of war or conqueſt ſo far as to extirpate their enemies. Even Charlemagne, after he had ſubdued the Saxons by a long and bloody war, did not attempt to deſtroy their whole race, but only tranſplanted a part, and the remainder he endeavoured to reconcile to his empire by the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity. But the Saxons, by far more cruel than the Franks, were of all conquerors the moſt deſtructive, extending the utmoſt rigor of the ſword againſt thoſe who dared to contend with them for liberty or empire. In the ſame ferocious manner their anceſtors ſome centuries before had be-

* Moſt of the facts mentioned in this and the foregoing chapter are from Helmoldus; ſome few from Saxo.

haved

haved in Britain, where they either maſſacred or expelled the greateſt part of the natives, who had invited them over to their aſſiſtance. None of the other northern nations that over-ran the Roman empire, behaved with ſuch cruelty to the conquered inhabitants, or were inflamed with ſuch rancour and animoſity, as to attempt to convert thoſe provinces into deſarts. The Goths, the Burgundians, the Lombards, inſtead of maſſacring the Romans in cold blood, and endeavouring to extirpate their whole race, enacted very juſt laws in favour of thoſe people, in conſequence of which the Romans and thoſe fierce barbarians their conquerors were conſidered in the ſame light as fellow-citizens. Theodorick king of Italy, a Gothic prince, upon ſending an army into Gaul, makes uſe of theſe words to his general, which deſerve to be inſcribed on pillars of braſs. "Let other kings delight in the plunder and devaſtation of the "towns they have ſubdued; we are deſirous to conquer in ſuch "a manner, that our new ſubjects ſhall lament their having "fallen too late under our government *."

LITTLE indeed is human nature indebted to thoſe civilians, who, from the example of tyrants rather than good princes, have preſumed to eſtabliſh a contrary doctrine, and to extend the right of conqueſt to the deſtruction of the inhabitants. It is the felicity of this enlightened age, that ſuch cruel maxims are now entirely exploded, and princes are trained in juſter notions, founded in reaſon and humanity. They are taught, that the rights of war are none but ſuch as can be defended upon the principles of ſtrict juſtice; that kings have no more right than individuals to kill or deſtroy, but in the caſe of ſelf-preſervation and natural defence; that the power of the ſword was given to preſerve and not to exterminate; to repel unjuſt attacks, and not wantonly to ſport with the lives of their neighbours; that the end of conqueſt is the acquiſition of territory, and of courſe the preſervation rather than the ruin of the inhabitants; and that when they have completed their conqueſt, it is barbarous and tyrannical to put thoſe to the ſword who have

* Caſſiod. lib. iii. ep. 43.

no

no power to make any oppoſition, and from whom they are of courſe in no danger of receiving the leaſt injury ‡.

And in truth theſe are principles which conquerors endowed with prudence and good ſenſe have ever thought it their intereſt to follow. Thoſe who have acted by contrary maxims, or rather have followed their own brutal inclinations, and given a looſe to the inordinate paſſions of fury and reſentment, have been in all ages condemned for the barbarity of their manners, and for the imprudence and bad policy of their conduct. Polybius * taking notice of the cruelty with which Philip king of Macedon, ſon of Antigonus, behaved towards the Ætolians, makes uſe of theſe remarkable words: "That it was unworthy "of a good and juſt prince to proceed in hoſtilities to the ex- "tirpation of an enemy; but he ſhould only puniſh thoſe who "are guilty, and ſpare the innocent." And the ſame judicious writer † in another place obſerves, "That prudent princes in "taking revenge of their enemies, ſhould not ſo much attend "to the puniſhment thoſe people deſerve, as to what it becomes "their own dignity to inflict."

The Romans, though in general a cruel and haughty enemy, and carrying the rights of war as far as moſt conquerors, yet rarely proceeded to ſuch extremity as to exterminate a whole nation, except ſuch perhaps as by an obſtinate continuance of hoſtilities wilfully obſtructed their own preſervation. Such was the caſe of the Jews at the final deſtruction of their capital under Titus Veſpaſian, when they were ſo infatuated as to reject all terms of accommodation, and to deprive that great con-

‡ See this doctrine moſt beautifully explained by that great friend of liberty and humanity, the Preſident Monteſquieu, in his Spirit of Laws, vol. I. book 10, cap. iii.

* Ου γαρ ἐπ' ἀπωλειᾳ δεῖ κὴ ἀφανισμῷ τοις ἀγνωμοσι πολεμεῖν τυς ἀγαθυς ἄνδρας, ἀλλ' ἐπι διορθώσει κὴ μεταθέσει τῶν ἡμαρτημένων. ἐδὲ συναιρεῖν τὰ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα τοῖς ἠδικηκόσι. Polyb. Hiſt. lib. v. See the whole paſſage, where the judicious author delivers his ſentiments concerning the rights of war, greatly in favour of humanity.

† Καθαπερ γαρ οἱ νῦν ἔχοντες ἐπὰν ἀμύνασθαι κρίνωσι τὲς ἐχθρὲς, ὁ τῦτο πρῶτον σκοπῦνται, τί παθεῖν ἄξιος ἐστιν ὁ πλησίον, ἀλλὰ τί ποιεῖν αυτοῖς πρέπει, τῦτο μᾶλλον. Idem. Hiſt. lib. xii.

queror

queror of the ſatisfaction of diſplaying his favourite attribute of clemency. Salluſt, ſpeaking of the old Romans, ſays, that it was their cuſtom to deprive thoſe whom they had ſubdued, of nothing but the power of doing miſchief *. Even in the times of the Cæſars, when the notions of conqueſt were more extravagant, they ſtill believed, that nations were ſubdued only to obey juſt laws, and not to be made ſlaves †. And indeed we find that theſe mighty people, even in the hurry and purſuit of conqueſt, ſeldom meddled with the rights and property of individuals; but, content with fixing the ſeat of empire in their own capital, ſuffered the natives of the vanquiſhed provinces to be governed by their own municipal laws, and to enjoy their own eſtates and poſſeſſions. Such in general was their policy; the inſtances of the contrary are but few, and come perhaps within the rule of ſelf-preſervation. We muſt except the remarkable caſe of the Epirots at the time of Paulus Æmilius; but though the Roman ſenate behaved with great cruelty in ſending orders to this general to plunder and diſmantle the cities of Epirus, and this order was reluctantly obeyed by that humane comander, in ſuch a manner that 150,000 of the inhabitants were ſold for ſlaves, yet they did not proceed to a total extermination of the Epirots; they did not put them to the ſword in cold blood; they did not leave the whole country deſolate: they only intended to puniſh thoſe people for their ingratitude in joining with Perſes againſt their friends and benefactors, by whom they had been reſtored to their ancient liberty. The puniſhment, however, was too ſevere; and we have already obſerved, that the conduct of the Romans with regard to the rights of war does not merit to be propoſed as a model to other nations.

As the ſubverſion of the Venedic monarchy was attended with ſuch extraordinary circumſtances of cruelty, and may be juſtly reckoned one of the moſt deſtructive revolutions in hiſtory,

* Nihil victis eripiebant præter injuriæ licentiam.

† Tacitus, treating of the ancient Britons, ſays, in vita Agricolæ, domiti ut pareant, non ut ſerviant.

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the reader will doubtleſs be ſurprized that the Saxons, a nation famed for their courage and military virtues; a nation that had ſtruggled hard with the Franks in defence of their own liberties; a nation that had revived the dignity of the German empire by the great exploits of their warlike princes; but above all, a nation that had been trained in the mild and humane principles of the Chriſtian inſtitution, ſhould be actuated by ſo inveterate and implacable an averſion againſt the Venedi, as to extirpate the whole nation. To develop the cauſe of this averſion is a proper ſubject of hiſtorical inquiry; and they who may happen to be wearied with this gloomy proſpect of human calamities, will probably receive ſome ſatisfaction, by diſcovering the ſource from whence thoſe calamities were derived.

THE vehement hatred which the Saxons had conceived againſt the Venedi was not owing to a ſingle cauſe, but aroſe from a variety of motives, operating by degrees for a ſucceſſion of ages, ſometimes ſingly and at others in conjunction, till it was wrought to an odium ferale & internecinum, or the utmoſt pitch of malignancy and rancour.

Cauſes of the hatred which the Saxons bore to the Venedi.

THE firſt cauſe of this fatal hatred, on the part of the Saxons, was avarice and ambition, the ſame which prompted their anceſtors firſt to hate and afterwards to exterminate the Britons; the ſame which induced the Danes and the Normans to harraſs and oppreſs the poſterity of thoſe very Saxons who had conquered this iſland; the ſame which tempted the Romans to invade and enſlave the eaſtern and weſtern world; and which led the ſeveral ſwarms of northern nations to over-run and ſubvert the Roman empire. The Saxons had a diſlike to the Venedi, but none to their country; they hated their perſons, but had an earneſt deſire to uſurp their poſſeſſions. And indeed, by the confeſſion of the Saxons * themſelves, the country of Vandalia was moſt beautiful and inviting; bleſſed with a fertile ſoil, yielding all ſorts of fruit;

* Terram ſpatioſam, fertilem frumento, commodam paſcuorum ubertate, abundantem piſce & carne & omnibus bonis. Helm. lib. i. c. 87.

abounding with rich meadows, remarkable for excellent paſture; watered with a number of fine ſtreams and noble rivers; interſperſed with a variety of lakes and pleaſant iſlands; ſupplied with harbours for the convenience of trade; adorned with woods for the building of houſes and ſhips; the woods ſtocked with game, the lands with cattle, the lakes and rivers with fiſh: all this was a bait which the avarice and cupidity of the Saxons knew not how to reſiſt. The proſpect of gaining poſſeſſion of a country contiguous to their own, and flowing, as it were, with milk and honey, faſcinated their eyes and their hearts to ſuch a degree, that they enjoyed no repoſe till they ſeized it for their own uſe, and expelled or extirpated the ancient inhabitants. The Venedi are perpetually treated by the monkiſh hiſtorians with the contumelious names of pirates, traitors, and idolaters, unworthy of the air they breathe, and of the land they inhabit; no wonder then that thoſe wretches ſhould meet with the utmoſt ſeverity of the ſword, be deſtroyed root and branch, and their country rendered a deſart, in order to fill it with new inhabitants, who, it ſeems, were juſtified in their uſurpation by being zealouſly attached to the Chriſtian religion.

This national antipathy was of very early date, when Chriſtianity began to dawn upon the banks of the Elbe, as appears by the anonymous Saxon poet who wrote the life of Charlemagne in Latin metre, where he abuſes this nation in the following terms:

——confinia quorum
Infeſtant conjuncta ſuis gens perfida Slavi.

From this period we find that the Saxons had always a great eagerneſs to ſettle in Vandalia, which they conſidered, in ſome meaſure, as their own country, or at leaſt as a fief dependant on their dukes; and that they determined at length to eject the inhabitants, and to ſeize it by the right of conveniency. Agreeably to theſe principles, when the princes of the holy league undertook the firſt expedition againſt the Venedi in 1148, the principal officers belonging

belonging to Henry the Lion and Albert the Bear made uſe of the following expreſſions: "Is not the land, which we are now "ravaging, our own? and muſt not this devaſtation finally re-"dound to the diſadvantage of our maſters *?" A plain proof at leaſt that they intended to make it their own; and conſidered themſelves as entitled to the property of it.

DIFFERENCE of manners and language was another cauſe which contributed to ſtrengthen the animoſity of the Saxons: to this it was owing, that they ſo greedily ſwallowed the moſt abſurd and improbable ſtories, which had been propagated either through ignorance or deſign to caſt an odium upon the Venedi. Actuated by prejudice, they looked upon thoſe people as a race of ferocious barbarians, eſtranged from all morality and polite manners, delighting in cruelty and the ſlaughter of human victims, pertinaciouſly fond of piracy and depredation, incorrigible in their idolatry and ſuperſtitious rites, and, of courſe, as a nation with whom they were no way connected by the common bond of nature and humanity. But in this reſpect the Saxons, we muſt confeſs, were not particular; nations more civilized and enlightened have been influenced in their treatment of ſtrangers by the ſame prepoſterous conceit; and, not to mention the polite Greeks and Romans, who contemned the inhabitants of all other countries but their own as a herd of barbarians, have not modern nations, even ſince the reſurrection of letters and the refinements of civility, been too often blinded by the ſame fatal prejudice, and endeavoured to extirpate and deſtroy thoſe unhappy people, whom, perhaps through ignorance of their cuſtoms and manners, they have inſultingly diſtinguiſhed by the injurious appellation of ſavages? The melancholy inſtances of cruelty and rapine, committed by the Europeans againſt the defenceleſs and innocent inhabitants of America, are a reproach to human nature, and will be an indelible ſtain on the memory of thoſe adventurous ravagers, who completed the barbarous conqueſt of the weſtern hemiſphere.

* Helmold. lib. i.

A THIRD cauſe of this averſion of the Saxons is founded in the ſtrange depravity of human nature, whereby nations as well as individuals are prompted, according to the well-known reflection of the political hiſtorian, ever to hate thoſe whom they have injured. Upon this principle the conquerors have always a ſtrong averſion to the conquered, and are ſure to make them feel, in the wanton exerciſe of their power, the dreadful effects of ſuch prepoſterous averſion. Thus the Normans deteſted the Engliſh, after they had been long in poſſeſſion of their lands and eſtates, and diſplayed a moſt ungenerous partiality to their own countrymen, in not ſuffering the natives of this iſland to be promoted to any dignity, eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military *. In like manner, the Saxons hated the Venedi becauſe they had done great injuſtice to theſe people, and accumulated their inſults beyond meaſure. Their conduct towards that nation for a number of centuries was one continued plan of cruelty and oppreſſion: Their policy was to conquer and enſlave them; to attain which end they ſpared no means, however outrageous and deſtructive. The truth of this aſſertion appears from the whole ſeries of their hiſtory. The Saxons, as Wittekind their own countryman obſerves, were ever contending for empire, that is, for power and extent of territory; but the Venedi were ſtruggling for their moſt ſacred rights, for their natural liberties. Liberty is a cauſe, in the defence of which many brave nations have readily engaged: ſome have been ſo happy as to gain the noble prize, while others have periſhed in the glorious ſtruggle; but the honour of both is the ſame, and the juſtice of the cauſe muſt determine the merit of the champions. While I admire the fortitude and reſolution of the Venedi, I profeſs myſelf uninfluenced by hatred or affection: that gallant nation is now extinct; and the character of the preſent Saxons, for whom I entertain the higheſt reſpect, can no way be affected by the conduct of their anceſtors, at the diſtance of ſix hundred years. If we trace hiſtory back to remote, or perhaps nearer, periods, we ſhall find that all nations have at

* Hume's Hiſt. of England, vol. I. p. 183, 4to ed.

times

times been guilty of eſpouſing unwarrantable meaſures; but the iniquity of their proceedings ſhould not be ſo much imputed to the character and diſpoſition of the people, as to the iniquity of the times, to the prejudices of ignorance and ſuperſtition, and to the artful inſinuations of their leaders.

THE fourth and laſt cauſe of the prejudice of the Saxons againſt the Venedi, a cauſe indeed in which all the reſt may be ſaid to concenter, was the difference of religion between the two nations. This, as we have ſeen in the foregoing hiſtory, was ever made a pretext to harraſs and oppreſs, and at length finally to extirpate thoſe unfortunate people. When we reflect on this extraordinary circumſtance, that a religion eſtabliſhed by the prince of peace; a religion which ſeems to inſpire no other paſſion but that of univerſal harmony and love; a religion, in fine, which inculcates the doctrine of forgiveneſs of injuries, ſhould be perverted to the hotrid purpoſes of deſtruction, we are greatly concerned at the melancholy effects of bigotry and enthuſiaſm. But when we farther conſider that the inſtruments of this ruinous ſcheme were the very miniſters of that mild and humane inſtitution, we cannot help being ſeized with a juſt indignation at the intemperance of their zeal, and at the barbarity of their conduct. Under what colour or pretence they could attempt to juſtify the propagating of religion by the moſt deſtructive violence, may be a proper ſubject of diſquiſition in the preſent age, when the prejudices of bigotry ſeem to ſubſide, and ſubjects are allowed to uſe freedom of judgment and debate, with regard to matters in which their moſt important intereſts are concerned.

THE Chriſtian religion was originally propagated without the aid of force, or any other ſupport than that of argument and perſuaſion. It muſt therefore ſubſiſt on the ſame principles on which it was founded, or entirely loſe its weight and authority. Religion is an aſſent of the mind produced by rational evidence, but can never ſpring from force, which, at the moſt, will only occaſion an outward conformity. Hence it is manifeſt, that they who made uſe of the ſword as a means of promoting Chriſti-

anity,

anity, had recourſe to a method altogether repugnant to the deſign of the ſacred founder of that mild inſtitution. Compulſion may make hypocrites, but not ſincere converts; and ſurely religion can gain no advantage by the hypocriſy and diſſimulation of its profeſſors. Beſides, when violence is once eſtabliſhed as a means of propagating Chriſtianity, it unhinges the principle of rational aſſent, and affords a pretext, or an argumentum ad hominem, to expreſs myſelf in the ſcholaſtic phraſe, to juſtify the perſecutions either of Pagan or Mahometan princes. Perſecution is the offspring of bigotry; princes, while under its influence, will imagine they have a right to deſtroy, when the Deity commands; and then it is impoſſible for human wiſdom to reſtrain their fury. And can any thing be more furious and abſurd than to command people to give their aſſent to doctrines which they apprehend to be falſe? or to puniſh, much leſs to deſtroy them with fire and ſword, for opinions which, however erroneous, they believe to be founded in truth? Is difference in opinion a ſufficient reaſon to diveſt mankind of their property, or to make them expire under the moſt excruciating tortures? What a ſcene of tyranny would be diſplayed, were ſuch notions to obtain, notions diametrically oppoſite to reaſon, ſenſe, and humanity? Pagans have been juſtly condemned, if the accuſation be true, for the barbarous practice of offering up human ſacrifices to their deities; but is not the practice of propagating religion by the ſword infinitely more cruel, when, at the direction of Chriſtian prieſts, whole nations of human victims are ſolemnly devoted to the ſlaughter? Better were it indeed, as a great and learned writer * obſerves, "there were no revealed religion, and that human nature were left to the conduct of its own principles and inclinations, which are much more mild and merciful, much more for the peace and happineſs of ſociety, than to be actuated by a religion that inſpires men with ſo wild a fury, and prompts them to commit ſuch outrages."

THE conduct of duke Henry in this laſt fatal war is a melancholy inſtance of the powerful and almoſt irreſiſtible in-

* Tillotſon, vol. I. p. 200.

fluence

fluence of religious prejudices. Few princes had greater virtues: he was naturally of a generous and forgiving temper; affable and courteous to all, and of manners moſt engaging; he was magnificent without pride, brave without temerity, and more fond of deſerving than receiving applauſe. In the ſequel of this hiſtory we ſhall behold him diſplaying all thoſe accompliſhments which conſtitute the hero, and eſpecially exerting an unparalleled magnanimity, the true teſt of an heroic mind, in the melancholy reverſe of his fortune. Nothing but the wildeſt religious enthuſiaſm could have induced a prince endowed with ſuch noble qualifications, to conſent to the barbarities which were committed againſt the Venedi, chiefly on the account of their idolatry. Ambition might prompt him to make thoſe people his ſlaves; but bigotry alone could operate to their deſtruction, ſo as to prevent him from reaping even the benefit of their ſervitude. The clergy had then adopted the abſurd doctrine of converting idolaters by the ſword; and had introduced in conſequence the practice of the croiſades *. Inſtigated by theſe zealots, Henry deemed it an honour to be the inſtrument of carrying their cruel and deſtructive purpoſes into execution. Thus by deluſion he joined with the fiery eccleſiaſtics of his time, who were extolling him to the ſkies †, as the champion of God's cauſe, while

* The croiſades againſt the Pagans of the North were far leſs juſtifiable than thoſe againſt the infidels of the Eaſt. The former had been guilty of no offence but that of exerciſing their idolatrous rites, in which they had been educated from their infancy; the latter were charged with having uſurped extenſive territories to which they had no right, and with having perſecuted and expelled the Chriſtian inhabitants.

† Helmoldus abounds in paſſages to this purpoſe, calling the deſolation of Vandalia the work of the Lord, who favoured and ſtrengthened the right hand of the pious duke: Omnis ergo terra Obotritorum, & finitimæ regiones, hoc noviſſimo bello in ſolitudinem redactæ ſunt, Domino ſcilicet favente, & dexteram piiſſimi ducis confortante. Lib. ii. c. 5. And in the ſame chapter, ſpeaking of the duke's officers Gunzelinus and Bernard, he makes uſe of theſe words: Fecerunt & ipſi opus bonum, bellantes prælia domini, ut ſuſcitaretur cultus domus Dei noſtri in gente incredula & idololatra. One would imagine by theſe expreſſions, that the duke had received a ſpecial commiſſion from the Deity to ſeize upon Vandalia, and deſtroy the inhabitants, in the ſame manner as the Jews deſtroyed the Canaanites.

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he was depopulating an unhappy province, and rioting in human blood, for the advancement of Chriſtianity. The deluſion prevailed; but it was by the deſtruction of a whole nation: and if religion gained, the human ſpecies was a conſiderable loſer.

We have been inſenſibly led into this train of reflections, by the long perſecution which the Venedi ſuſtained on account of their ancient worſhip. In their frequent wars with the Saxons they only aſſerted their natural independency, determining neither to bow their necks to a foreign yoke, nor to ſubmit to a religion obtruded by violence. It was difficult, indeed, for them to entertain a favourable opinion of a doctrine whoſe ſalutary truths their enemies did not attempt to enforce by argument, but to cram down their throats by military execution. In every treaty of peace between the two nations, it was generally preſcribed as a condition to the Venedi, that they ſhould immediately ſubmit to the ceremony of baptiſm: this circumſtance alone contributed to render Chriſtianity extremely odious in their eyes, as a remembrance of their paſt defeats, and a badge of their ignominy and ſubjection. But had not the deſtructive project of the croiſades been ſet on foot, and armed miſſionaries been employed to convert or extirpate this nation, it is probable that milder arguments would have prevailed in time, and diſpoſed their minds to embrace the ſacred truths of the Goſpel. When the conqueſt of Vandalia was entirely completed, the Saxons might have diſplayed their Chriſtianity by a generous forgiveneſs of their proſtrate foes, and by reſtoring them to their liberty; or might have treated them with ſuch lenity and moderation as would have been the means of changing their diſpoſition, of ſoftening them into compliance, and of gradually removing the prejudice they had conceived againſt a religion profeſſed by their inveterate enemies. The Saxons themſelves had been tamed by ſervitude under Charlemagne; but the lenity with which they had been indulged by that prince's ſon *, Lewis the Debonnaire, contributed to re-

* He reſtored them to their liberty. See the anonymous author of the Life of Lewis the Debonnaire.

concile

concile them to his government, and to the Chriſtian religion. Thus would the acquiſition of Vandalia have been of uſe to the victor and the vanquiſhed, the rights of nature and humanity would have been regarded, and the human ſpecies would not have ſuſtained ſo conſiderable a diminution. But conquerors, thoſe ſcourges of the human race, are in all ages too apt to contemn the rules of clemency and moderation preſcribed by reaſon and philoſophy; while diſtreſſed nations, ever victims to lawleſs ambition, are doomed to behold this ſcene of cruel triumph, and to lament the ſad condition of humanity.

The kingdom of the Venedi diſſolved.

It was thus the fate of the unhappy nation of the Venedi to be at length cruſhed in their conteſt with the Saxons, and to fall a ſacrifice to the implacable reſentment of their enemies. Their fate, though ſevere, was not inglorious: they periſhed in their country's cauſe, the cauſe of liberty; which Britons at leaſt will ſurely applaud and admire. The whole nation being either maſſacred or tranſplanted, and their ſovereign driven into baniſhment, the country of Vandalia underwent a total change, being ſettled by Henry the Lion on his officers, and entirely new planted with Saxon colonies. In conſequence of this ſettlement, the kingdom of the Venedi, which had laſted ſo many ages, and undergone ſuch a variety of viciſſitudes, was at length reduced to a final period. The greateſt ſtates have been cruſhed by powerful confederacies; and ſuch was the combination againſt the Venedi, that, in the natural courſe of things, their fate was unavoidable. The Danes, the Saxons, and other German ſtates, had all conſpired their ruin, and overwhelmed their country with formidable armies: in ſo unequal a conteſt we are not ſurprized at their fall, but at their making ſo long and vigorous an oppoſition. But neither kingdoms nor empires are founded in ſtability; in this perpetual fluctuation of human affairs, Providence ſeems to have limited the duration of ſtates, as well as that of individuals; ſo that, either from internal or external cauſes, they all muſt yield to the conquering arm of time, and haſten alike to their final diſſolution.

BUT altho' the kingdom of the Venedi was deſtroyed, their prince was ſaved, and, in ſpite of adverſe fate, his illuſtrious line ſtill happily reigns over the country once inhabited by that ancient nation. Pribiſlaus having ſurvived the ſubverſion of his throne and the extermination of his people, was reſerved by Providence for a reſtoration more amazing than the very revolution by which he had been ſtripped of his dominions. The condition of this prince appeared at that time quite deſperate: all hopes of a recovery of his ancient inheritance were entirely at an end; his ſubjects were either killed, baniſhed, or made ſlaves; his country poſſeſſed by foreign adventurers; and he himſelf an exile, deſtitute of friends or allies capable of ſupporting his juſt pretenſions. Yet in this forlorn ſtate was Pribiſlaus raiſed from the duſt, and by a moſt extraordinary turn of fortune, the conqueror himſelf, who had reduced him to that diſtreſs, ſtretched out his arm to his relief, and reſtored him to his dominions. To cancel the memory of paſt grievances, he endeavoured, by a profuſion of kind actions, to repair the injuries he had committed, and ſtudied to make that prince his friend, whom he was afraid of having injured beyond all hopes of forgiveneſs. But Pribiſlaus diſplayed his magnanimity by the ſincerity of his reconciliation; and in conſequence of ſo happy an event, the country of Vandalia roſe more beautiful than ever out of its aſhes. A marriage ſoon after enſued between his ſon and Henry's daughter: this was the commencement of that alliance and friendſhip which has ſince ſubſiſted between the two families; and has lately been more firmly cemented by the auſpicious nuptials of their preſent majeſties of Great Britain. But from what cauſe this ſurprizing reconciliation between two ſuch inveterate enemies took its riſe, by what means the reſtoration of that exiled prince was effected, and what changes enſued in the manners, cuſtoms, religion, and government of the country, will be related at large in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

APPENDIX

Creavit del. *C. Grignion Sculp.*

Fata quietas
Ostendunt sedes, fas regna resurgere Trojæ.
Virgil.

APPENDIX I.

A Diſſertation proving that Niclotus I. king of the Venedi and Obotrites, and undoubted progenitor of the preſent princes of the ſerene houſe of Mecklenburg, was either the ſon or a deſcendant of king Buthue *.

THE enemies of the houſe of Mecklenburg, envying the antiquity of its deſcent, which eclipſes that of moſt of the ſovereign houſes of Europe, have attempted to diſpute this antiquity, and to make Niclotus a private nobleman, and founder of the ſerene family. Their only argument is an ambiguous paſſage in Helmoldus the hiſtorian, by the wreſting of which to their malignant purpoſe they would fain tarniſh the luſtre of this auguſt line, diſtinguiſhed not only by its antiquity, but by the virtues and heroic actions of ſuch a number of princes. Zealous as I am for the honour of this ſerene houſe, I find myſelf actuated with equal zeal in the cauſe of truth, to which every hiſtorian ought to conſecrate his labours. But as I have no manner of doubt that Niclotus was either a ſon, or a deſcendant, of Buthue, I ſhall firſt give the reaſons on which I found this opinion, and ſhall next fairly ſtate the objection of the adverſaries of the ſerene family in its full force, ſubmitting to the judgment of the reader, whether it be capable of invalidating an opinion founded in hiſtory, confirmed by records, and unanimouſly tranſmitted down by tradition, and by a number of writers who have inveſtigated the antiquities of Mecklenburg.

I. THE reader will pleaſe to recollect, that upon the extinction of king Henry's iſſue †, Canute, the ſon of Eric king of Denmark, looking upon the crown as devolved to him by Henry's will, took poſſeſſion of it, and gave a conſiderable ſum to the emperor Lotharius for ſupporting him in that uſurpation. Pribiſlaus and Niclotus, being next heirs to the crown, oppoſed this ſtep; but Canute maintained his poſſeſſion by force of

* See this king's reign, p. 274, and an account of his iſſue, p. 281. † See p. 311.

arms: "Canutus, rex Slavorum, quos non hæreditate, ſed armis potenter obtinuit," ſays the author of the genealogy of the kings of Denmark *. The two princes were made priſoners in this ſtruggle, and Canute confined them both in Sleſwick. Now it is natural to ſuppoſe, that the reaſon of their being confined was, becauſe they were the lawful heirs to the crown, and Canute thought it a neceſſary means to ſecure his uſurpation. But if Niclotus had not been a brother, or near relation of Pribiſlaus, Canute would hardly have entertained any jealouſy of him, or been at the trouble of ſecuring his perſon in Sleſwick. Neither would Niclotus have made it a common cauſe to act againſt Canute in conjunction with Pribiſlaus, had he been a private nobleman, and not entitled to a ſhare of Buthue's inheritance.

II. HELMOLDUS, ſpeaking of Canute on this occaſion, ſays that he killed and deſtroyed all thoſe who oppoſed him, "occidens & ſternens omnes ſibi adverſantes;" whereas he treated Pribiſlaus and Niclotus in a more favourable manner; and, though he confined them in Sleſwick, he never hurt their perſons. Whence ſhould ſuch a different treatment be ſhewn to Niclotus as well as to Pribiſlaus, but out of regard to their princely birth, which Canute thought proper to reſpect, at the ſame time that he uſurped their inheritance? Niclotus might have been taken priſoner, together with Pribiſlaus, though a private perſon; but his meeting with the ſame treatment as that prince, forms a preſumption of the equal dignity of his birth.

III. IT is beyond all doubt that, after the murder of Canute, the two lawful heirs to the kingdom of the Venedi, Pribiſlaus and Niclotus, immediately took poſſeſſion of the government, and divided the country equally between them. Helm. lib. i. c. liii. "Poſtquam ergo mortuus eſt Canutus rex Obotritorum, ſucceſſerunt in locum ejus Pribiſlaus atque Niclotus, bipartito principatu, uno ſcilicet Wagirenſium atque Polaborum, altero Obotritorum provinciam gubernante." Now if Pribiſlaus had been the only lawful heir to the crown, and Niclotus a private nobleman, ſurely the former would never have voluntarily divided his rightful inheritance with the latter, and granted him a moiety of that country †.

BESIDES, it appears that the moiety which came to Niclotus is called "hæreditas Nicloti," and there is no authority from

* Apud Ludwig. † See alſo what has been ſaid concerning this diviſion of territory in the note p. 383.

hiſtory

hiſtory to ſhew that there ever was any diſpute between thoſe two princes, Pribiſlaus and Niclotus; it follows, therefore, that the diviſion of their territories muſt have been made with full harmony, and that Pribiſlaus looked upon Niclotus as a lawful co-heir, who claimed the inheritance left by king Henry, and uſurped by Canute. And ſince it was impoſſible for him to conſider Niclotus as a lawful co-heir, unleſs he were deſcended from Buthue, and had an equal right with himſelf, the plain conſequence is, that Niclotus was either a brother or a nephew of Pribiſlaus.

IV. FARTHER, we find by ancient diplomas, that this Pribiſlaus was conſidered by Niclotus's deſcendants, at no great diſtance of time, as their relation, and that they openly declared him to be ſuch. Schroeder has publiſhed a diploma of John the Theologian in 1229, where this prince ſays, "Cum noſter cognatus "Pribiſlaus eoſdem terminos multis præſentibus reſignaverit." That he means Pribiſlaus I. is plain from the word "cognatus," for Pribiſlaus II. was great-grandfather to John the Theologian; conſequently he means Pribiſlaus I. who was cognatus as his grandfather's brother or uncle; and thus Schroeder underſtands the above paſſage. Hence the conſanguinity of Pribiſlaus I. and Niclotus I. is demonſtrated, as the above John the Theologian was one of the moſt learned princes of his family.

V. AGAIN, Pribiſlaus II. ſon of Niclotus, apud Helmold. lib. ii. c. 2. calls his country, which had been reſtored to him by Henry the Lion, "hæreditatem patris ſui;" whence it follows, that Niclotus his father could not be a private nobleman; for had that been the caſe, he would not have held thoſe lands jure hæreditario, or by right of inheritance. Now it is impoſſible to conceive how Niclotus ſhould have held that country jure hæreditario, unleſs he were a prince deſcended from the royal line of the Venedi, and of courſe a brother or nephew of Pribiſlaus I.

VI. STILL farther, Pribiſlaus I. dièd without iſſue *, and embracing Chriſtianity, left the marquiſate of Brandenburg, which had been wreſted from his anceſtor Udo, and which he recovered by the ſword, left it, I ſay, before his death, which happened in 1141, to Albert the Bear, who had been his godfather. This appears from a fragment of the old Chronicle of Brandenburg, apud Maderum in Antiquit. Brunſwic. p. 274. But

* See his hiſtory, p. 322 to 340.

Niclotus

Niclotus looking upon that province as devolved to him by right of inheritance, took poſſeſſion of it in 1147, and acted as ſovereign; ſince it is expreſſly mentioned in the ſame place, that Niclotus, "cum cæteris orientalibus Slavis," who lived in the marquiſate of Brandenburg *, concluded a treaty of peace with Adolphus count of Holſtein, which would have been abſurd had he not then been poſſeſſed of that country. Albert the Bear muſt therefore have recovered by force of arms the territory left him by Pribiſlaus, which probably happened in 1162, twenty-one years after the death of this prince. Thence it follows, that Niclotus looked upon himſelf as the right heir of Pribiſlaus, and ſeized that country as his lawful inheritance, which he could not have done unleſs he had been that prince's brother or nephew.

VII. THERE is no mention in hiſtory that Niclotus was ever elected by the Venedi for their ſovereign; nor is it probable they ſhould have made ſuch an election while their lawful prince was ſtill living. Beſides, ſuch a circumſtance could not paſs unnoticed by Helmoldus and other hiſtorians; therefore, from their ſilence it muſt be inferred that Niclotus ſucceeded jure hæreditario, or by right of inheritance.

VIII. IN fine, the hiſtorians of Pomerania always reckon Pribiſlaus II. as nearly related to their dukes, and of courſe they muſt have looked upon his father Niclotus as of the ſame family with their ancient ſovereigns. To pretend that this might be a miſtake, from their miſapprehending Niclotus to be the ſon of Buthue, is ſaying nothing; for the Pomeranian hiſtorians, and eſpecially Lubechius, mention the very words of the dukes of Pomerania, who call Pribiſlaus II. their fleſh and blood, conſequently one of their family; and ſurely thoſe dukes muſt have been acquainted with their own kindred: therefore it is certain, that Niclotus was either a brother or a nephew of Pribiſlaus.

THESE arguments may not be all equally concluſive, yet, taken collectively, amount, in my humble opinion, to a moral certainty. Let us now give attention to what our adverſaries have to ſay, and we ſhall find that the whole conſiſts of a ſingle argument, taken, as we have before remembered, from an ambiguous paſſage in Helmoldus, where that hiſtorian, mentioning the circumſtance of Pribiſlaus and Niclotus dividing the

* This circumſtance appears in Helmoldus, lib. i. c. 89.

country

country of Vandalia between them upon the death of Canute, calls Pribiſlaus "fratruelem Henrici," and Niclotus only "majorem terræ;" whereas if they had been brothers, or uncle and nephew, he would have mentioned that particular. But that this argument is of no manner of force we hope we ſhall evince to the reader's ſatisfaction.

In the firſt place, the words major terræ do not ſignify barely a private nobleman, but rather a great prince and ſovereign of the country. In thoſe days they were very ſparing of their titles; the gentry or nobility were called miniſteriales and milites; and none but princes were honoured with the title of noble. For a proof of this we refer the reader to Pfeffenger, where he will find many inſtances to the point in hand. Therefore, as it was not the cuſtom to honour the gentry or nobility with ſplendid titles, it follows that the words major terræ could never be intended to ſignify a private nobleman.

Secondly, the word major is often taken for a prince by the writers and hiſtorians of thoſe times. This is proved by the authority of Hincmar De ordine palatii, epiſt. xiv. c. 29. "In quo placito (Ludovici Pii Imperatoris) generalitas. . . . . Majorum tam clericorum quam laicorum," &c. The ſame word is taken alſo in this ſignification very frequently in Geſtis Dei per Francos, as Barthius in Animadv. & Gloſſar. obſerves. Therefore that word muſt be uſed here alſo in this ſenſe, eſpecially as Helmoldus in another paſſage, c. 72. expreſſly ſtiles Niclotus "principem terræ;" and this laſt authority we apprehend to be concluſive.

Thirdly, though Helmoldus calls Pribiſlaus "fratruelem Henrici," and Niclotus only "majorem terræ," it does not follow that the hiſtorian meant to point out the latter as not equally related to king Henry; for this is a common way of expreſſion among the writers of the middle ages, who, in mentioning two different perſons, take notice of one only as related to a third, though they are both equally a-kin. Of this we have a ſtrong inſtance in Brunonis Hiſtoria Belli Saxonici, p. 146. where we find, "Imperator ſolida calliditate Saxones ab invicem multa promittendo diviſerat, ut non diu ante diem prælii Wiprecht & Tiedericus Geronis filius ad hoſtem tranſirent." Here Bruno mentions Tiedericus alone as Geronis filium, and makes uſe of the ſingular number inſtead of the plural, though it is beyond all doubt that Wiprecht was likewiſe the ſon of Gero; for though the Chronicon montis ſereni apud Maderum, p. 36, mentions

mentions only one ſon of count Gero, yet Lambertus Schafnaburgenſis ad an. 1075, ſays that count Gero had two ſons, "Erant duo comitis Geronis filii," one of whom was Wiprecht or Wipertus, count of Goritz and margrave of Luſatia, an office with which Gero had alſo been honoured.

ANOTHER example is in Annal. Hildeſh. ad an. 1131. Dux Luitgerus, comes de Winceburch . . . . . forti manu ad monaſterium vadunt pro reſtituendo Theodorico epiſcopo. Here no conſanguinity is mentioned, though it be equally certain that this biſhop was a brother of the count, and of courſe a near relation of the duke, as Erdwinus Erdmannus, in Chron. Oſnabrugenſium epiſcop. plainly ſheweth.

IT is therefore impoſſible to conclude any more from Helmoldus in the above paſſage, than that he aimed at the elegance of the Latin language, and not that he wanted to exclude Pribiſlaus from being a brother or nephew of Niclotus, and to make him only a private nobleman.

BUT though from the preceding obſervations it plainly appears that Helmoldus did not intend to point out Niclotus as a private nobleman, or as a perſon not deſcended from the royal family of the Venedi; yet, for the reaſons mentioned p. 383, where we have treated of the death of Niclotus, it is very probable, that this prince was a nephew, and not a brother, of Pribiſlaus I.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX II.

Of the Coins of Vandalia.

IN the hiſtory of the Venedi frequent mention is made, from Helmoldus and others, of marks, as a ſpecie uſed in thoſe days; but we do not find in the writers of the middle ages any notice taken of their value. Bangertus, in his notes on the above hiſtorian, affirms, that a mark at that time anſwered to eight imperials; but the value of this ſpecie afterwards diminiſhed by degrees, ſo that towards the year 1335 it was eſtimated at three florins. But this being a very dry and unſatisfactory account, we ſhall give the reader a clearer idea of the matter from Weſtphal's learned treatiſe De conſuetudine ex ſacco & libro, and from Leibnitz tom. iii. Script. Brunſ.

THE princes of this country were poſſeſſed of the privilege of coining money in their own right, a privilege which they afterwards conferred on the city of Roſtock. In ancient times the ſpecie moſt commonly uſed throughout the province was the pfennings; they were very thin, brittle, and ill minted; and by the vulgar, on account of their lightneſs and ſmallneſs, were called chaffinches eyes: theſe pfennings were current in the twelfth century, and Weſtphal has given a repreſentation of them from ſome coins that were found in the year 1322, in the church of Gadebuſch; they were marked with a buffalo's head, the ancient arms of the ſerene family.

THE diplomas of the thirteenth century frequently take notice of the pfennings and marks of Vandalia, as alſo of the pfennings of Roſtock, Wiſmar, and Schwerin. With regard to their value; in the year 1273, when Herman was biſhop of Schwerin, forty-eight pfennings made a mark. But in 1335 two pfennings of Vandalia made a Lubeck ſchilling. A Brandenburg mark weighed twenty-eight ſchillings and four pfennings. In 1340 the pfennings of Vandalia were of the ſame value with thoſe of Lubeck. In 1345 twelve pfennings of Vandalia made a ſchilling. In 1360 two marks of chaffinches eyes were equal in value to one Lubeck mark, or ſixteen ſchillings. In 1360 three Lubeck marks, or ſix marks of Vandalia, were equal in value to one

mark of pure ſilver. In paying conſiderable ſums this ſmall ſpecie uſed to be delivered in weight; and thus five pounds of chaffinches eyes amounted to five marks. But as this old coin was ſo very brittle, they uſed to keep it in bags, made of goats ſkins, to prevent it from breaking; theſe bags the women hung upon their girdle, and went about with them to market and other public places. If there was occaſion to pay a very large ſum, they were put into a paper and weighed, leſt they ſhould wear by too frequent uſe. But the public growing tired of this brittle money, at length the hanſe-towns of Lubeck, Wiſmar, Hamburg, and Lunenburg, reſolved to have a more ſolid ſpecie, in conſequence of which, about the year 1468, were firſt coined the hard ſchillings.

THE firſt pfenning was coined at Hamburg in 1325, when it was regulated that a mark ſhould contain fourteen ounces of pure ſilver. Two and forty ſchillings were made out of a mark; and for the eight pfennings they put an alloy of braſs or copper. The ſchillings coined at Lubeck had on one ſide the figure of St. John, on the other that of the emperor. Twelve ſchillings were reckoned to make a florin. A pound of pure ſilver at that time coſt two pounds and fifteen ſchillings in ſpecie. And that pound of ſilver melted down was made to anſwer to three pounds and nine pfennings. Money was afterwards greatly adulterated, which is attributed to the number of cities that had obtained the privilege of coining. This raiſed the price of pure ſilver, and occaſioned a greater mixture of copper or alloy. At length it was determined (by a decree of the four hanſe-towns, Lubeck, Hamburg, Lunenburg, and Wiſmar, to whom the care of coining money had been committed by the reſt of the confederacy), that the plain or ſingle ſchillings ſhould be made of pure ſilver, reckoning nine ounces to the pound; and the double ones alſo of pure ſilver, reckoning twelve ounces to the pound.

THE hanſe-towns, and the country of Mecklenburg, gave particular attention to the ſtandard of their ſpecie, on account of their extenſive commerce. Hence it is, that the money coined in thoſe parts was ſo greatly eſteemed in England, that even to this day the proper ſtandard and weight is called ſterling, from an abbreviation of oſterling, a name given in thoſe days to the hanſe-towns, and merchants trading from the Baltic.

APPENDIX III.

Of the Saxon Laws.

THE civilization of nations is generally known by the goodneſs of their laws, which ſecure the property of the ſubject from the hands of rapine, and the perſons of individuals from inſolence and oppreſſion. The Saxons, notwithſtanding the imputation of barbariſm with which they perpetually load the memory of the Venedi, were far from being remarkable for the elegance of their manners, or the excellence of their civil inſtitutions. Long accuſtomed to the power of the ſword, as the arbiter of their differences, they ſeldom had recourſe to public tribunals. Their defence againſt violence, whether public or private, conſiſted at firſt in an aſſociation of their friends and relations, by which they made it a common intereſt to revenge the cauſe of the injured, and to retaliate violence. When the inconveniency of this procedure came to be felt in more numerous ſocieties, and rendered it neceſſary to refine and improve their manner of adminiſtering juſtice, the remedy they applied was of a moſt imperfect kind, conſiſting chiefly of compoſitions and fines to the perſon injured and to the prince, which were determined at the diſcretion of the magiſtrate.

HENCE the knowledge of their laws is reduced within a very narrow compaſs, containing little more than the regulation of thoſe fines, which were legally allowed as a ſufficient compenſation for the different injuries committed in ſociety. This is what conſtitutes the code of the Saxon laws, which were the firſt foundation of thoſe of Lubeck and Schwerin, ſo greatly extolled by the writers of the middle ages, and ſo frequently mentioned in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

THE Saxons acknowledged three ſorts of laws: the jus divinum, or the law of God; the jus civile municipale, commonly called marckſt-recht, for the government of towns; and the jus provinciale, or land-recht, for the country or the peaſants. The firſt compilement of their laws is that of the jus Soſatenſe, the ſecond the jus Saxonicum municipale, the third the jus Lubicenſe,

cenſe, and the fourth the jus Suerinenſe, which three laſt are pretty much the ſame with the firſt, or the Soſatenſe. When Frederick Barbaroſſa took the city of Lubeck in 1182, the citizens went out to meet him, and begged he would confirm their privileges, and their laws and courts ſecundum jura Soſatiæ *, to which the emperor moſt graciouſly condeſcended. This paſſage has puzzled many civilians and antiquarians. Lambeccius thinks there is an error in the common reading, and that it ought to be altered to jura Holſatiæ; but he is cenſured and corrected by the learned Leibnitz, in tom. ii. Script. Brunſwic. where he has theſe words: "Soſatia was an ancient and flouriſhing city, as appears "from the life of St. Ida, and the tranſlation of St. Evergiſtus." This Soſatia, now called Soeſt, is a town in Weſtphalia, famous for its ancient body of laws, which are generally allowed to be the foundation of the jus Lubicenſe and jus Suerinenſe. They were, properly ſpeaking, a collection of municipal laws, from whence Henry the Lion took the idea of a well-governed city. This prince granted to the inhabitants of Schwerin, after he had depoſed king Pribiſlaus, a code of laws, extracted from the jus Soſatenſe, which code was afterwards known by the name of jus Suerinenſe, and obtained ſo high a degree of reputation, that it was not only received in the country of Mecklenburg, where it is ſtill the municipal law, but alſo in Pomerania. To the remainder of the province he granted the Saxon laws, called landrecht, which had been eſtabliſhed throughout the whole diſtrict and juriſdiction of Saxony and Weſtphalia, as far as the Saxon vicarſhip of the empire extended.

I APPREHEND it will afford ſome ſatisfaction to the curious to ſee this jus Suerinenſe †, or code of the laws of Schwerin; and have therefore thought proper to inſert the following copy of it, as a ſpecimen of the Saxon juriſprudence. At the ſame time I ſhall compare it with the jus Saxonicum municipale, ſo greatly commended by the writers of that nation.

* Arnold. lib. ii. c. 35.

† The jus Suerinenſe was publiſhed in Latin by P. Tornovius, Tract. de feud. part i. in præf. and by F. Thomas in Analect. Guſtrov. but the learned Weſtphal gave a tranſlation of it in the German tongue, which is to be ſeen in Doc. Mecl.

COPY

Copy of the JUS SUERINENSE, or LAWS of SCHWERIN.

I. *HEAD for head, hand for hand.*

II. *If any perſon happens to be wounded the depth of a nail or a joint, the offender ſhall be fined ſixty ſchillings, to the benefit of the ſovereign; and ſhall alſo pay twenty-four ſchillings to the party injured.*] Both theſe articles are taken from the Saxon municipal law called Weichbild, art. lxx. If the wound happen to have the depth of a nail, or the length of a joint or member, the offender ſhall loſe his hand; but if he ſlays a man he ſhall loſe his neck, unleſs he exculpates himſelf according to the law; that is, unleſs he proves to the ſatisfaction of the judge that he killed the deceaſed in his own defence. And in ſuch caſe he was to pay a fine called Wedde to the judge; and to the neareſt relations of the deceaſed he was obliged to pay another fine called Werigeldum in the barbarous Latin of thoſe days, and in the German language Bote. But if he could not prove that he had killed him in his own defence, he was then found guilty of breaking the peace, and condemned to a capital puniſhment by way of retaliation.

III. *For a blow or bruiſe, without effuſion of blood, the prince ſhall have twenty-four ſchillings, and the party injured twelve.*

IV. *For a box on the ear the ſufferer ſhall have four ſchillings, the prince as many.*] Both the municipal and provincial Saxon laws exactly correſpond with theſe articles. Whoſoever ſhall ſtrike or beat another, or pull off his hair, though he be brought before the judge with hue-and-cry, to anſwer for the treſpaſs, ſhall not ſuffer in body, but ſhall be ſet at liberty upon paying a fine.

V. *Whoever violates the peace of another man's houſe ſhall be liable to a capital puniſhment.*] The municipal Saxon law expreſſes this offence in the following terms: "If any perſon accuſeth another of breaking into his "houſe by day or by night, and complaineth of any injury or violence "ſuſtained; or if a woman or a girl be raviſhed, and the offender brought "with hue-and-cry before the judge, and witneſſes appear to prove the "fact, for that fact he ſhall forfeit his life. For every houſe and cottage "within its encloſure and hedges, is to enjoy the benefit of the peace eſtab-"liſhed throughout the empire." And with regard to rapes, the ancient Germans uſed to puniſh this crime ſo ſeverely, that the very houſe where the fact was committed, either in town or country, was razed to the ground, and the beaſts or cattle in that encloſure were ſlain.

VI. *If an immodeſt woman revile an honeſt man, it ſhall be lawful for him to give her a ſound box on the ear, in the preſence of two men of character.*] According to the municipal law of the Saxons, if a man gave a box on the ear to a perſon of indifferent character (for inſtance, to a puppet-player, a prize-fighter, or a harlot) he was obliged to pay one moiety of

the

the fine to the judge, and the other to the father of the ſcandalous perſon, that is, fifteen ſchillings.

VII. *If any perſon hath two meaſures, a great and a ſmall, and ſhall receive or buy in the great, but ſell in the ſmall, let him be capitally puniſhed.*] By the Saxon municipal law the duumviri, or ſheriffs, were commiſſioned to examine into the weights and meaſures of eatables and liquors, and particularly to mind that the bakers did their duty, and the bread was of full weight. The offenders were either condemned to the puniſhment of loſing their ſkin and hair *, or fined a mark of ſix and twenty ſchillings, at the diſcretion of the judge. But in the latter caſe the perſon, who redeemed his ſkin and hair, was reputed infamous in law.

VIII. *Let a miller receive out of every buſhel the uſual meaſure, commonly called Matta.*] This is a very extraordinary article, and we find no mention of any ſuch thing either in the municipal or provincial Saxon laws.

IX. *Whoever infringes the ſtatutes of the city ſhall pay three marks to the public.*] This article ſeems to be tranſcribed from the provincial Saxon law. Whatever is ordained for the advantage of the country-people, with the conſent of the major party, ſhall not be oppoſed by the minority.

X. *Every peace-ſchilling ſhall be paid to the conſuls.*] This was a privilege granted to the ſenate of Schwerin. By the word peace-ſchilling we are to underſtand a mulct of ſixty ſchillings, which the Franks uſed formerly to pay to the magiſtrate by the name of Freda or Fridum, in German Frevel, as a compoſition for an injury committed, or for a violation of the law.

XI. *If the conſuls appoint a meeting for the election of a maſter, or firſt magiſtrate, of the city, and thoſe who are ſummoned do not appear in time, two parts of the fine ſhall go to the conſuls, a third to the prince, but nothing to the maſter.*] This article ſeems to be tranſcribed from the municipal law of the Saxons. The conſuls ought likewiſe to chuſe one or two pro-conſuls among themſelves; and whatever they ordain in their aſſembly ſhall be ſtrictly obſerved. Whoſoever does not come to the aſſembly, when the bell rings, ſhall pay a fine of ſix pfennings; and if he has been ſummoned, he ſhall be mulcted five ſchillings.

XII. *It belongs to the citizens to chuſe their maſter, or firſt magiſtrate.*] This election was made by the whole body of the citizens.

* The ancient Saxons, being uſed to wear their own hair, ſet a mark upon thieves to caution honeſt people againſt them, by tearing off the hair of their heads with a kind of jagged club. Victor Vitenſis, l. ii. c. 4. mentions this puniſhment as uſed by the Vandals in Africa in perſecuting the orthodox. Their manner was, to put one of thoſe clubs upon a perſon's head, and then, intangling it in the hair, and twiſting it round, to pull of the ſkin together with the whole head of hair. This muſt have been a moſt excruciating pain; and indeed Victor ſays, that many of thoſe poor people were immediately deprived of their ſight, and others expired under the torture. The ſame puniſhment is preſcribed in the laws of the Franks and Burgundians, and gave riſe to the German proverb, to come to ſkin and hair, or to touch to the quick.

XIII.

XIII. *The maſter, or firſt magiſtrate, of the city, has no right to take cognizance of robberies committed in the country; this belongs to the ſovereign.*

XIV. *No one ſhall give away his eſtate without the conſent of his heirs.*] This ſeems to be tranſcribed from the Saxon municipal law. If any perſon is willing to alienate or reſign his property, in that caſe he who intends to alienate, and the perſon who deſires to receive the alienation, muſt appear in court. And he who intends to give away his eſtate muſt apply for a proctor, and aſk in what manner he can alienate his property, ſo that his intention ſhall take effect. And then it will be found, that he muſt diſpoſe of it with the conſent of the next heirs, unleſs he has acquired that eſtate himſelf by gift. And if a man has given an eſtate to his children in public court before the magiſtrate, or ſettled it upon his wife for her life, with the conſent of the next heirs, and he ſhould afterwards be deſirous to give part of that eſtate to any body elſe, they to whom the firſt donation has been made, may prevent this ſecond act, if they have legal proof of the firſt. Citizens were allowed to give away their eſtates, ſo long as they were able to walk the ſtreets without any body to ſupport them, or to ſtand upon their feet in court, or in the public market-place, while they were making the donation. They were at full liberty to give away their moveable goods, and to deliver them to the perſon to whom the gift was made, even mortis cauſa, or upon thoughts of ſome preſent or future danger, if it was done in a legal form. And when a man was dying he might beſtow on the perſon to whom he intended to make the gift, ſuch effects as he was able to deliver with his own hands on his death-bed.

XV. *If a perſon dies without any appearance of heirs, the conſuls ſhall take poſſeſſion of his eſtate, and keep it till the expiration of a whole year; and then if no heir puts in his claim, it ſhall eſcheat to the ſovereign. But the inheritance or eſtate ought to be reſtored by the ſeventh hand.*] This agrees with the municipal laws of the Saxons. If the inheritance is left open, and no heir appears at that time, nor within a year and a day, it ſhall eſcheat to our ſovereign lord the king.

XVI. *If a perſon dies, and leaves hæredes ſuos, or his natural heirs, and the mother chuſes afterwards to marry another huſband, ſhe ſhall firſt divide the inheritance.*] The municipal law of the Saxons determines as follows: So long as the widow remains unmarried, ſhe is not obliged to quit the ſpot, unleſs the heirs have ſatisfied her legal demands. A mother likewiſe had a right to accuſe a ſuſpected guardian before the proper judges.

XVII. *If any of the heirs happen to die, his inheritance ſhall devolve to his brother; and if they all die, to the mother.*] This appears very extraordinary, that the inheritance ſhould devolve, by the laws of Schwerin, to the agnati only, when, by the Saxon law, thoſe who are not of the equeſtrian rank may leave their allodial eſtates to the next heirs of both ſexes.

XVIII. *If the mother can give ſecurity, ſhe ſhall be guardian in like manner as the father.*] This alſo appears very ſingular; for by the Saxon municipal law the tutelage of minors was always given to the next agnatus, and he was obliged every year to paſs his accounts.

XIX.

XIX. *If a woman dies and leaves an heir, and the father, upon the emancipation of his ſon, marries another wife, and begets children by her, upon the death of the father the heir emancipated ſhall return to the poſſeſſion of his father's inheritance.*] This is not agreeable to the Saxon municipal law; for by the latter thoſe children only, who were in their father's power at the time of his deceaſe, were entitled to his inheritance, and to take poſſeſſion of his effects.

XX. *If any perſon, not living within the city, makes complaint againſt a citizen, the latter may employ any advocate to defend his cauſe, but the foreigner muſt employ an advocate belonging to the city.*] This law was partial to the citizens of Schwerin, and injurious to foreigners. But by the Saxon municipal law any advocate whatever might be employed, and ought to be admitted by the judge.

XXI. *Whatever perſon of ſervile condition comes within the walls of this city ſhall be free from all burden of ſervitude.*] This was a moſt humane law in favour of the peaſants of that country, who were all adſcripti glebæ, or villains and bondmen. But by the Saxon municipal law, if any perſon had enjoyed the municipal rights for a year and a day, and his condition had not been called in queſtion during that time, he was declared a freeman, upon the oath of ſix witneſſes, three of whom were to be his agnati, and three cognati, confirmed alſo by his own oath. And by the provincial Saxon law it was determined, that a ſtranger, whoſe condition was called in queſtion, ſhould be ſummoned where he happened then to reſide, and was reputed a freeman, and not at the place of his nativity.

XXII. *Whatever the conſuls ſhall determine and ordain for the public good, the city ſhall take care to obſerve.*] This was not only agreeable to the Saxon but to the divine law, being calculated for the preſervation of order and good government.

XXIII. *If a debtor, when cited before the judge, be unable to pay, he ſhall deliver his houſe in depoſit to the creditor. And the creditor ſhall repreſent the affair thrice in ſix weeks to the judge; and if the debtor by that time does not redeem his houſe, the creditor may convert it to his own uſe.*] By the Saxon municipal law the creditor ſummoned his debtor before the magiſtrate by a common crier, in order to make a judicial demand; and if the debt was fairly proved, the debtor was obliged to pay the money within a fortnight. If he failed, he was to pay a fine to the judge. He was then commanded to pay the money in the ſpace of eight days; and if he failed, again in three; and then in two days; and, laſtly, in twenty-four hours; a fine being inflicted for every failure. But if he did not pay the fine to the magiſtrate, nor the debt to the creditor, his goods were made over by order of the judge to the creditor, till he diſcharged both debt and fine. If it appeared upon enquiry that he had no goods or eſtate, he was outlawed, and his perſon could be arreſted any where, and given up to the creditor. If the creditor laid hold of him, he enquired whether he could give bail or ſurety for diſcharging the debt in a reaſonable time. In caſe he could find no bail, the creditor had a right to detain him as a ſervant, and make him

work in diſcharge of the debt; for which purpoſe he was permitted to bind him in fetters, but not to ſtrike or to beat him, or to uſe him with any ſort of cruelty. And though he had made his eſcape, or had been diſmiſſed by the creditor, yet he was not releaſed from the debt till he had proved a real payment. If he found bail or ſecurity, the debtor was diſmiſſed, but the ſureties were obliged to pay the debt, each according to his ſettled proportion. And if any of the ſureties ſhould be unable to pay his ſhare, the others were obliged to make it good. But if one of them paid the whole debt, the reſt were diſcharged. And if the debtor himſelf paid the money, or by any other means was releaſed from the demand, the bail were no longer bound.

XXIV. *The laſt article contains ſeveral regulations concerning the fields, woods, paſtures, &c. which were afterwards enlarged by different princes, and are carefully preſervod in the archives of Guſtrow.*

It is pity that the learned editors of the Jus Suerinenſe did not publiſh thoſe regulations together with the other articles, for the benefit of the republic of letters; we ſhould in all probability have diſcovered ſeveral other cuſtoms, perhaps agreeing with the law of the Saxons. By the Saxon provincial law ſome articles were prudently added for the better regulation of the police. Thus, nobody was permitted to have a ſpout or gutter projecting into another man's houſe. Every man was to fence his houſe or cottage with a hedge, to prevent any annoyance or injury to his neighbour. The privies bordering upon a neighbour's houſe were to be encloſed within a wall, to hinder any noiſome ſmell, or other offence. Chimnies and furnaces were alſo to be ſecured by high walls, leſt the ſparks ſhould extend to the neighbouring houſes. Ovens and hog-ſties were to be built at the diſtance of three feet from the hedge. If a blackſmith bought a houſe in a town or village, they allowed him to ſet up a forge, but he was under very particular injunctions to prevent its catching fire, and damaging the neighbourhood. Neither was he permitted to erect a hovel or ſhed in the town for the ſhoeing of horſes, without the conſent of the inhabitants. For their houſes being all of wood, their principal care in thoſe days ſeems to have been to prevent the ſpreading of fire. And therefore, if a perſon's houſe happened to be burnt in the night, and he withdrew himſelf without making a hue-and-cry, and wakening the neighbours, it was the cuſtom for the common people, if they could lay hold of him, to throw him inſtantly into the flames. But if he made a hue-and-cry, he only incurred

the penalty of the Aquilian * law, being obliged to make good the damage he had done to his neighbour. With regard to the boundaries of fields, the municipal Saxon law ſays, that they who deſire to repair a boundary, whether it conſiſts of trees or ſtones, ſhall call their neighbour, and do it in his preſence, to prevent an action for moving the boundary. As to what concerns the right of wooding and fiſhing, the Speculum Saxonicum contains theſe articles: "Whoever ſhall fell wood, or mow graſs, that does not belong to him, or fiſh in another perſon's ſtream or river, is to be fined three ſchillings, and to make good the damage. But if he fiſhes in another man's pond, or cuts down any trees, or plucks off the boughs or the fruit, or takes away the trees or ſtones appointed for boundaries, he ſhall pay thirty ſchillings as a fine; and if he be caught in flagranti, he may be legally impriſoned. Whoever ſtealeth either hay or billets of wood out of the fields in the night, ſhall be hanged; but if he committeth the theft in the day, he ſhall only be condemned to loſe his hair and ſkin." The Swedes have a proverbial expreſſion which accounts for the ſeverity of this puniſhment: The perſon who ſteals in the night, they ſay, bryta Gudzlæs, or ſtiæla undan Gudzlæs, that is, he breaks God Almighty's lock; becauſe whatever grows in the open field is deemed to be under the key and cuſtody of the Deity, and therefore ſhould be left inviolate to thoſe who, by the Divine goodneſs, are the lawful proprietors; ſo that whoever ſteals thoſe things in the night, may be ſaid to ſteal from God, and to break into his granary. By the law of Schwerin, whoever clandeſtinely broke an oak, beech, or fir tree, was fined thirty Lubeck marks; for a bough he paid fifteen marks; and for ſtealing faggots or wood for fuel twenty ſchillings.

* So called from L. Aquilius, tribune of the people about the year of Rome 572. It took notice of damages done non ex delicto, ſed vel culpa, vel caſu aliquo.

APPENDIX IV.

Notitia Præcipuorum Scriptorum Rerum Mecklenburgicarum.

FRANC. Alb. Æpinus, de Converſione Mecklenburgenſium Diſſertatio. Roſt. 1708, in 4to.

Sebaſt. Bacmeiſterus, 1. Hiſtoria Eccleſiæ Roſtochienſis. 2. Continuatio Annalium Mareſcalci Thurii, apud Weſtphal.

Matthias Joh. Beehr, Rerum Mecklenburgicarum Libri octo. Lipſiæ, 1741. fol.

Joh. Bocerus, Libri tres de Origine & Rebus geſtis Ducum Megapolenſ. Lipſiæ, 1556, in 8vo.

Samuel Buckholtz, Hiſtory of the Duchy of Mecklenburg, in German. Roſt. 1753, 4to.

Arnoldi Burenii Orationes. Roſt. 1579, 8vo.

Caſpar Calovius, Chronicle of the Dukes of Mecklenburg, in German. Leipſick, 1600, in 4to.

Joh. Caſelius, Orationes in Principes Mecklenburg. diverſis temporibus editæ.

Joh. Fred. Chemnitz, Chronicles of Mecklenburg, in German, apud Weſtphal.

David Chytræus, Orationes, in 8vo. 1614; & continuatio Krantzii Vandaliæ. Witteb. in fol. 1586.

Michael Cordeſius, Chronicon Parchimenſe. Roſtochii, 1670, in 8vo.

David Francke, Hiſtory of Old and New Mecklenburg, in German. 8 vol. in 4to. Leipſick.

Phil. Fred. Hane, Antiquitates Eccleſiaſticæ Mecklenburg. Roſtoch. 1721, 4to.

D. And. Dan. Habichhorſtius, 1. Roſtochium Litteratum, 1700, 8vo. 2. Diſſertatio de Terrarum Mecklenburgicarum & hinc fluentium Titulorum Ducalium Origine. Roſt. 1683, 4to.

Helmoldus, Chronicon Slavorum, continuatum ab Arnoldo Abbate Lubecenſi, ad 1209, & a Preſbytero Bremenſi, ad an. 1448. cum Notis Henrici Bangerti. Lubecæ, 1659.

Erneſtus a Kirchberg, a Chronicle of Mecklenburg in rhyme, dedicated, in the year 1378, to Albert king of Sweden, apud Weſtphal.

Henry Kluver, Deſcription of the Duchy of Mecklenb. in German. Hamb. 1728, in 8vo.

Albertus Krantzius, Vandalia. Colon. 1519, fol.

Bern. Latomus, a Chronicle of Meckl. in Germ. to 1610, apud Weſtphal.

Petri Laurembergii Orationes funebres, diverſis temporibus editæ.

Petrus

Petrus Lindenburgius, 1. Chronicon Roſtochienſe. 1596, 4to. 2. Topographica Roſtochii Deſcriptio. Roſt. 1594. 4to. 3. Epitome Chronici, autore Heinone Meiero. 1677, 8vo. Roſt.

Fridericus Lindenbrogius, 1. Polyhiſtor. Hamb. 1648. 2. Chronicon Roſtochienſe, Lubecæ, 1611, fol.

Jac. Hieron. Lochnerus, Singularia quædam Mecklenburgica, Roſt. 1711, fol.

Joh. Petrus Ludovicus, Diſputatio de Idolis Slavorum. 1691, 4to.

Joachim. Mantzelius, 1. Gloria Academiæ Roſtochienſis. Roſt. 1706, 4to. 2. Mecklenburgum Evangelicum, MS.

Hector Gottfried Maſius, Schediaſma Hiſtoricum de Diis Obotritis, cum notis Andreæ Borrichii. Hafniæ, 1688, 8vo.

David Mevius, Jus Provinciale Mecklenburgicum.

Andreas Mylius, Chronicle of the Dukes of Mecklenburg, in German, Leipſick, 1600.

Henry Nettlebladt, Sketch of the Hiſtory of Mecklenburg, in German.

Simon Pauli, Oratio de Urbe Suerinenſi.

Johan. Poſſelius, Oratio de Inclyta Urbe Roſtochio. 1599.

Joach. de Prietz-Buer, Index conciſus Familiarum nobilium Ducatus Megapolitani. Hafniæ, 1722, 8vo.

Chriſtoph. Redekerus, Annales Mecklenburgenſes, 2 vol. fol. MS.

Conr. Sam. Schurtzfleiſch, Diſputatio de Rebus Mecklenburgicis. Wittemb. 1677, 4to.

Johan. Simonius, 1. Vandalia. 2. Stemma Megapolitanum. Roſt. 1605, 8vo.

Georg. Frider. Stieberus, 1. Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Mecklenburg. Guſtrow, 1714, 8vo. in German. 2. The State of Learning in Mecklenburg during the 15th Century. Guſtrow, 1721, 8vo.

Frider. Thomæ, 1. Analecta Guſtrovienſia. 1706. 8vo, Guſtrov. 2. Avitæ Ruſſorum atque Mecklenburgenſium principum Propinquitates. Roſt. 1717, fol.

Nic. Mareſcalcus Thurius, 1. Annales Herulorum & Vandalorum, lib. vii. Roſt. 1521. fol. 2. Chronicon de Vitis Obotritorum.

Georg. Weſtphal, 1. Annales Mecklenburgici memorabiles. 2. Collectanea Mecklenburgica Hiſtorica & Genealogica omnis ævi. in fol.

Erneſt. Joach. Weſtphal. 1. Specimen Documentorum ineditorum de Conſuetudine ex ſacco & libro. Roſt. 1726, 8vo. 2. Scriptores Rerum Mecklenburgicarum Anecdoti, nunc demum ex ſcriptis editi, 4 vol. fol.

Martinus Zeilerus, Topographia Ducatus Mecklenburgici. 1653. Francof. fol.

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Nugent, Thomas,

The History Of Vandalia Containing The Ancient And Present State Of The Country of Mecklenburg; Its Revolutions under The Vandals, the Venedi, and the Saxons; With The Succession and Memorable Actions of its Sovereigns
Bd.: 1

London (1766)

4 Germ.sp. 243-1
urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10003121-5